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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the *Indian Antiquary*.

## RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.\*

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired.)

## I. The Value of Geographical Analysis.

INDIA is behind-hand in the study of Geography, and it is not surprising that the vast mass of anthropological material gathered has not yet been examined carefully in the light of geographical facts. Even in Europe geographical analysis has only recently been applied to anthropological data, and the value of this method is not yet fully appreciated by anthropologists.

Geography is a useful criterion. It is pregnant with suggestions. There are several problems which cannot be solved without its aid.

Anthropological science is at present convulsed by a schism between those who hold that identity of custom is proof of identity of origin, and those who ascribe identity of custom to similarity of the conditions (physical, mental, social) under which such customs grew. It is the old feud between evolution and spontaneous generation, between heredity and environment. There is, no doubt, truth on both sides of the controversy, but it is fruitless to discuss the subject so long as geographical factors are ignored. The safest course is to regard two similar customs as of independent origin, *i.e.*, as "convergent," unless and until evidence of common origin is forthcoming. And the most valuable evidence is, undoubtedly, that of geographical continuity. This problem thus resolves itself into one of distribution. Unfortunately, with the ebb and flow of cultures, continuity is often destroyed. There are types of discontinuous distribution, however, which, with careful study, can be made to yield evidence of value. It is possible sometimes to discern whether a cultural movement has been centrifugal (as in the Hindu culture of Java, for instance) or whether discontinuous distribution is evidence of the local survival of an early culture that has been submerged by later cultural floods (*e.g.*, the fact that a language akin to Melanesian is spoken by the Mundâs of Chotâ Nâgpur). Sometimes it is possible to locate the centre of dispersion, while a discontinuous "peripheral" distribution is usually interpreted as due, like a coral atoll, to submergence, and if submergence is proved, it usually follows that, as when a stone is thrown into a pool, the cultural ripple most distant from the centre is the earliest.

A study of distribution will often reveal the direction in which cultural influences have moved. India is peculiarly exposed to the impact of cultural currents, from across the mountains and from across the seas. Most currents carry some sediment; sometimes the sediment is deposited, sometimes it penetrates and alters the underlying strata, and some currents merely erode and destroy.

By the study of stratified rocks and the action of air and water geologists have established the sequence of the evolution of animals and plants. A study of cultural strata and cultural drifts should enable the anthropologist to unravel the tangled complex of human culture.

Cultural drift is not, however, the sole factor in moulding human society. The influence of environment is equally important. Its importance has, however, I think, been over-rated. Environment undoubtedly modifies human culture, but it cannot create.

Important results have been attained by zoologists and botanists by the regional study of the distribution of animals and plants. Their methods deserve the emulation of the student of human culture. Unfortunately it is our habit in India to work and think in terms of provinces, states and districts, the limits of which are determined solely by administrative or political convenience. Writers in English, who have no local knowledge, are misled by

\* A paper read at the eleventh Session of the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore, 1924, under the title "Anthropological Geography." Reprinted with slight alterations from *Man in India*, vol. IV, 1924, by kind permission of the Editor, Kali Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

this. They speak vaguely of India south of the Vindhyas as "South India," regardless of the distinction between the Deccan Plateau and the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains. They speak loosely of "Madras" without discriminating the essentially different cultures of the Malayâlî, Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations. They fail to appreciate the fact that "Mysore" is made up of more than one geographical area, and seem unaware that many districts, *e.g.*, Coimbatore, Salem, N. Arcot, comprise bits of several diverse geographical units. They ignore the distinction between North and South Malabar, North and South Travancore, the Tulu country and West Coast Kannada.

Anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the castes and tribes of South India must realise the vital importance of exactitude as to locality in recording the results of investigations. Failure in this vitiates the value of a very high proportion of the anthropological material at our disposal. The term "Nâyars," for instance, includes such a multitude of distinct communities that it is meaningless to speak of a "Nâyar custom" without noting not only the class of Nâyar but also the *nâdu* and even the villages to which that custom appertains. The term "Vellâlar" is even vaguer. There is no such thing as a "Vellâlar" custom; so distinct, for instance, are the Kongu Vellâlars of Coimbatore from the Tonâaimandalam Vellâlars of Chingleput, and each of these communities from the Kâraikâttu Vellâlars of Tinnevelly that it would be difficult to justify the treatment of these three communities as members of one and the same social group, except only that they share a common name and are alike in economic and social status. Again, Kâpus and Kammas spread from the Northern Circars and Hyderabad southward to Cape Comorin. How far those sections of these Telugu communities which have penetrated into the Tamil country have been influenced, if at all, by their Tamil environment can only be ascertained by a careful search for variations in custom in the different geographical areas in which they reside. The "Discipline of Geography" is, in short, the surest safeguard against confusion.

## II. Geographical Factors.

A. The physical factors which condition human existence may be roughly grouped under the three heads—(a) Configuration, (b) Climate and (c) Economic Products. These factors are closely interdependent one on the other, but no one of them taken singly can be used to demarcate areas of human culture. Land surface elevation, for instance, the "orographical map," is of importance to the anthropologist, but the lowlands include desert and swamp as well as fat delta, and the uplands may be a sanitarium or a death trap. Rain in excess is as injurious to human subsistence as rainlessness, and man can thrive as thickly in the comparatively dry areas of Tanjore and South Travancore as on the wetter coast of Malabar. Iron ores are of little use if fuel and labour cannot be had to melt them. In short, physical factors taken collectively form a variety of complexes, some of which are favourable and some are deleterious to the development of human culture, and the complexes themselves may be profoundly modified by human art, particularly, in India, by the art of irrigation.

B. These complexes find their expression in the distribution of "human phenomena," *e.g.* (a) Density of Population, (b) Race, (c) Language, (d) Religion, (e) Political and Administrative Divisions. But the boundaries of these phenomena do not coincide. One race may speak several languages, one language may be spoken by several races; religion transcends the limits of race and language, and a state or nation may comprise many races, languages and religions.

Can a common multiple be found for all these variable factors, human and physical? I think it can,—in Density of Population.

## III. Areas and Avenues.

### A. BASIS FOR CLASSIFICATION.

Attention has in recent years been concentrated on routes,—routes of migration and routes of trade. But routes are but a means to an end and the end ultimately is, almost

always, *food*. The continuance of the human race depends on breeding, and breeding is impossible without feeding. Civilisation, in its crudest forms, is the art of adjusting birth rate and food supply, of feeding the maximum number of people in any given area, of mitigating the pressure of population on the soil. This eternal problem is the mainspring of human migrations and human wars.

“Nothing succeeds like success.” The best test of the suitability of an area for human habitation is the number of people per square mile that it actually supports. In other words, the relative Density of Population is the key to “human geography.”

A word of caution is here needed. Density fluctuates from age to age. Areas once crowded become depopulated, empty areas get filled. For this there are definite causes, *e.g.*, physical changes, such as desiccation, the silting of rivers or harbours, or the ravages of disease, or economic changes, such as the development of coal and iron industries, a gold boom, or political convulsions, such as the devastations of an Attila or a Tamerlane. Nevertheless two facts remain: (1) the areas of high density in any particular epoch are the areas best suited to the maintenance of human life in the cultural conditions prevailing in that area at that epoch, and (2) with few exceptions the present areas of maximum density have been areas of high density throughout History.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. REGIONAL TYPES.

The first duty then of the student of human geography is to plot out areas of different density. The standards of high and low density must for obvious reasons vary in different regions; the standards of Baluchistan, for instance, would be meaningless if applied to Bengal. For South India the following standards will, I think, be suitable:

Low Density : 200 persons or less per square mile.

Medium Density : 200 to 500 persons per square mile.

High Density : 500 persons or more per square mile.

Maximum Density : 1,000 persons or more per square mile.

In the light of the perspective thus gained it should be easy to examine the areas in detail, and classify them further according to (i) movement and (ii) position.

(i) **Of movement** there are four types :

- (1) movement inwards or *centripetal* ; areas of concentration ;
- (2) movement outwards or *centrifugal* ; areas of dispersion ;
- (3) movement across or *transitional* ;
- (4) absence of movement ; areas of stagnation or *isolation*.

(1) Areas of high density or concentration are usually *centripetal* foci. Humanity moves from one to other of these foci or impinges on a focus from some area of relatively low density. It is the foci that determine the routes and not *vice versa*.

Culturally a centripetal area is of course complex. Its blood is blended with the blood of countless races. From the play of cultural currents it is never free. Its social and economic life, viewed as a whole, is rich and varied, and, in spite of tremendous class inequalities, its component elements are closely knit together; usually it evolves a literature of its own, and literature, as a language medium, is a powerful solvent of cultural barriers. Diversity is pervaded with a subtle unity of character and thought. Such is the type of London, Paris or Rome.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The true *centrifugal* area, or area of dispersion, is a barren land which cannot feed its folk, but whose folk are sufficiently virile, numerous and aggressive to win their way in more favoured tracts. Of this type are North Germany, Central Asia, Arabia, Afghanistan.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Deltaic Egypt, the country round Nineveh and Babylon, Bengal, the Valley of the Yangtse-Kiang.

<sup>2</sup> A centripetal area is not necessarily based on agricultural fertility. Rome and London, for instance, owe their being to their maritime position. The Empire of Rome was erected to feed Rome. Destroy the British Empire, and Britain must starve. This does not convert a centripetal focus into a centrifugal one.

(3) The boundaries of centripetal and centrifugal areas are not always sharply defined. Between one area and another there is usually a tract that partakes of the character of both areas or of neither. Frontiers are, in short, belts or zones, not lines. Sometimes, as between France and Spain, they are "abrupt" and fairly stable; sometimes, as between Teuton and Slav, they are "indefinite" and perpetually oscillating. These belts or zones I class as *transitional*. Through them lie the avenues along which race and culture migrate. Such areas are the nurseries of "Border Chieftains," who acknowledge the suzerainty of any power that is strong enough to assert it, and resume their independence at the first symptom of weakness, take toll from all who pass through their zone, fight each other and loot the villagers beyond their borders.

(4) Areas of *isolation* are usually difficult of access, or unhealthy, or infertile, or otherwise unfavourable to human existence; or two or more of these factors may be combined. Some are mere "misery spots," which nobody wants and the wise man avoids. Others prosper in sturdy independence, shielded by nature from the tax-gatherer and money-lender. Others again tolerate an immigrant aristocracy, its satellites and retainers, but the immigrants, if they come to stay, sever, sooner or later, their connections with their former homes. Sometimes they provide a refuge for the outlaw.

The population of an isolated area, unlike that of a centrifugal area, is not "aggressive" in character, but "recessive"; savage it may be (more usually it is timid), but it does not impose its culture on its neighbour.

Areas of isolation are usually mountainous, jungly, swampy or arid. To the anthropologist such areas are the most interesting of all, for they preserve relics of cultures that have elsewhere passed into oblivion. "The hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains."<sup>3</sup>

(ii) **Position** is an important factor in determining the social and cultural features of an area. No hard and fast classification is here needed, but a few descriptive terms of definite connotation are useful.

"Central" needs no explanation. "Marginal" is also self-evident, the most typical example being the narrow coastal plain. "Terminal" connotes the familiar "Land's End" or "Finisterre" position.

Three other terms I propose to use.

- (a) Certain areas lie off the beaten tracks of migration, but are easily accessible and maintain contact with the cultural areas on which they debouch. They are usually fairly fertile valleys ending in a *cul-de-sac*. Such areas I call "secluded" or "recessed."
- (b) A river valley sometimes opens out into a plain surrounded on all sides by hills, through which the river finds a comparatively narrow outlet. The Hungarian Plain formed by the Danube is a classic example. Such areas I propose to call "entrenched" or "ensconced."
- (c) Some areas lie on the crest of a water parting and lap over into two distinct river basins. A typical example is the country round Delhi and Pânipat, astride the water parting of the Jumna and the Indus. Such areas I describe as "overlap" areas.

#### IV. Geography of South India.

##### A. PHYSICAL.

With the foregoing classification in mind, let us study a map of the Madras Presidency and the associated States.

The physical configuration is familiar. (Fig. 1, Pl. I.) They comprise I. the Deccan Plateau, II. the Eastern and Western Ghâts, III. the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, quoted by Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 145.

Fig. 1.

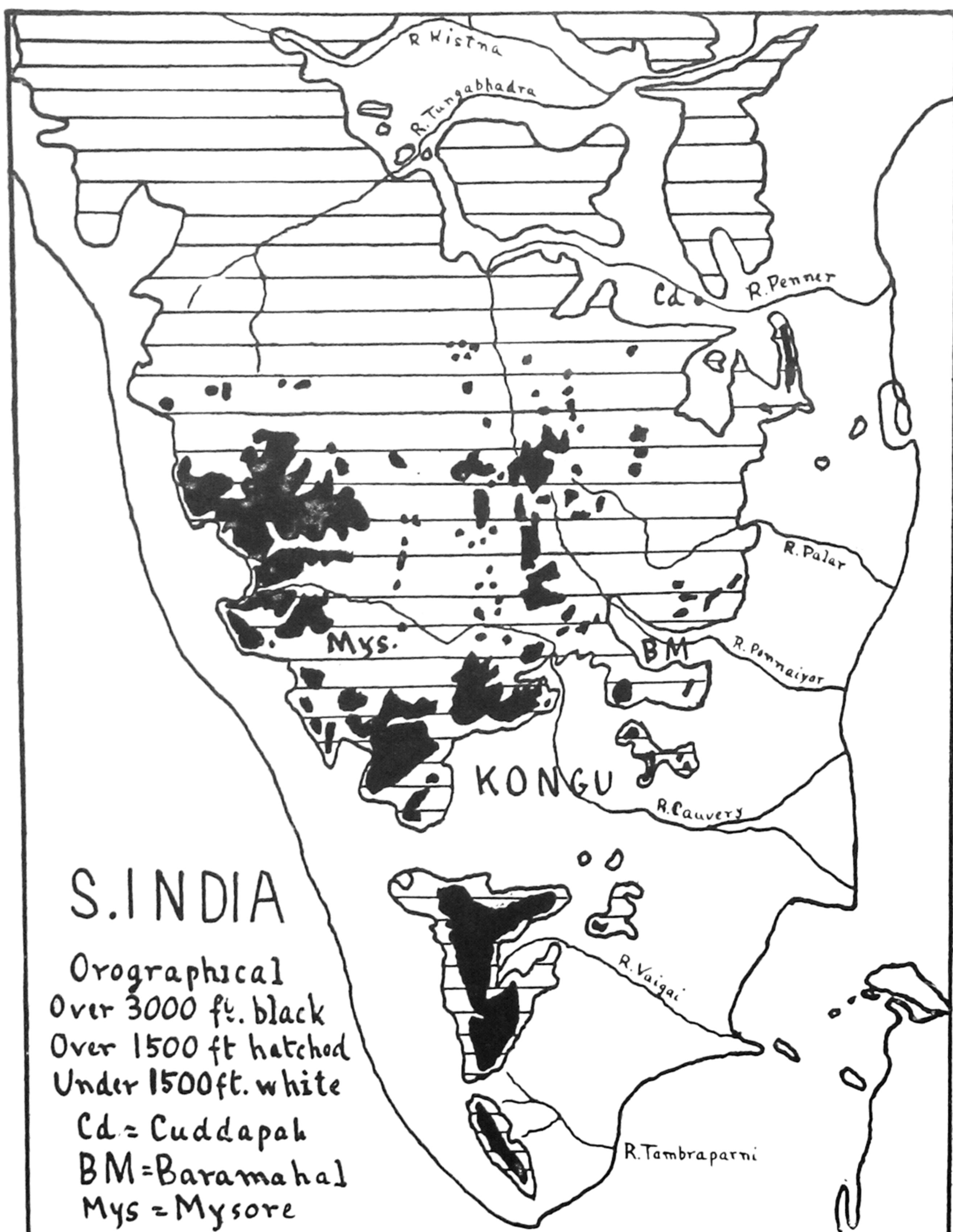




Fig. 2.

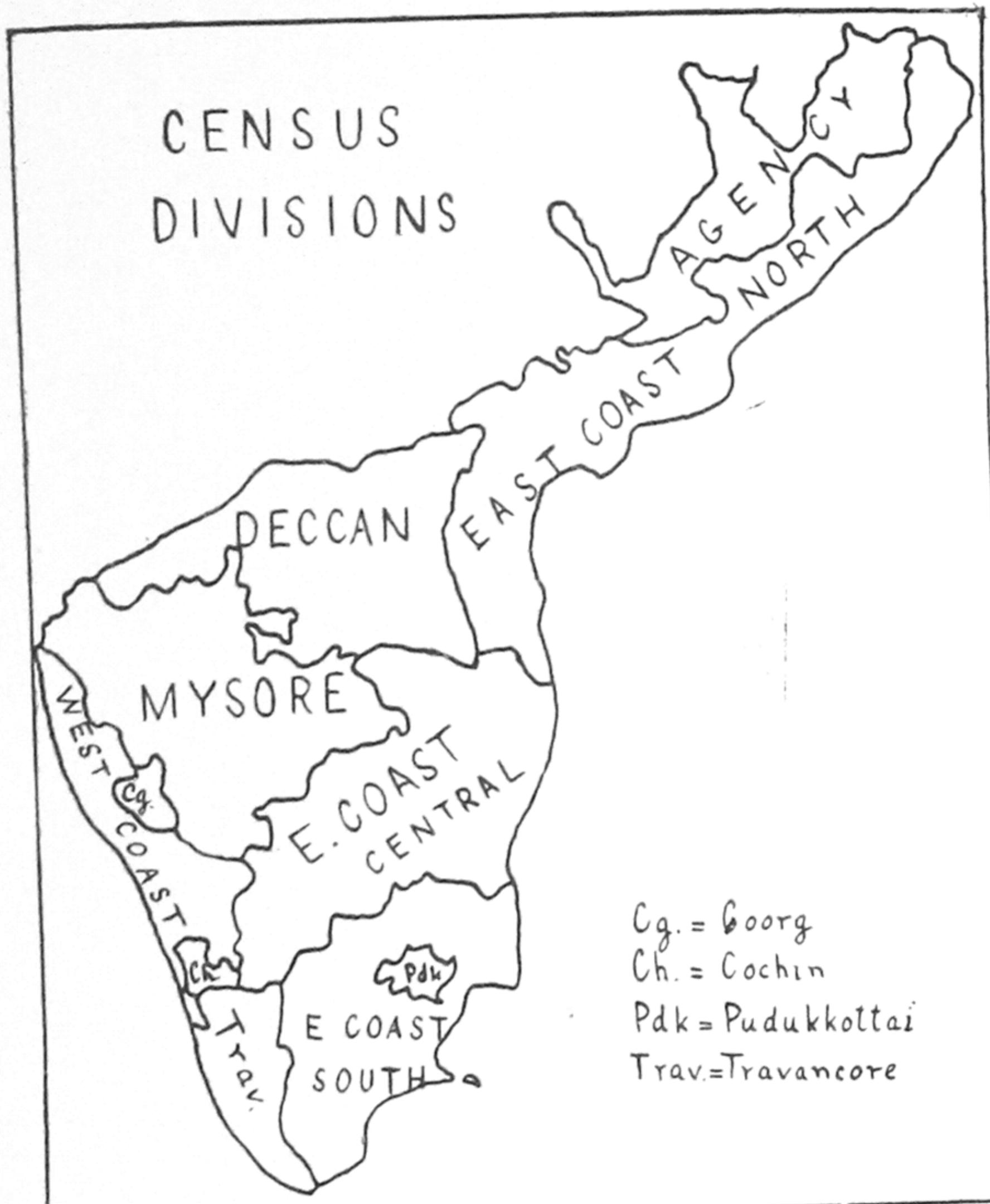


Fig. 3.

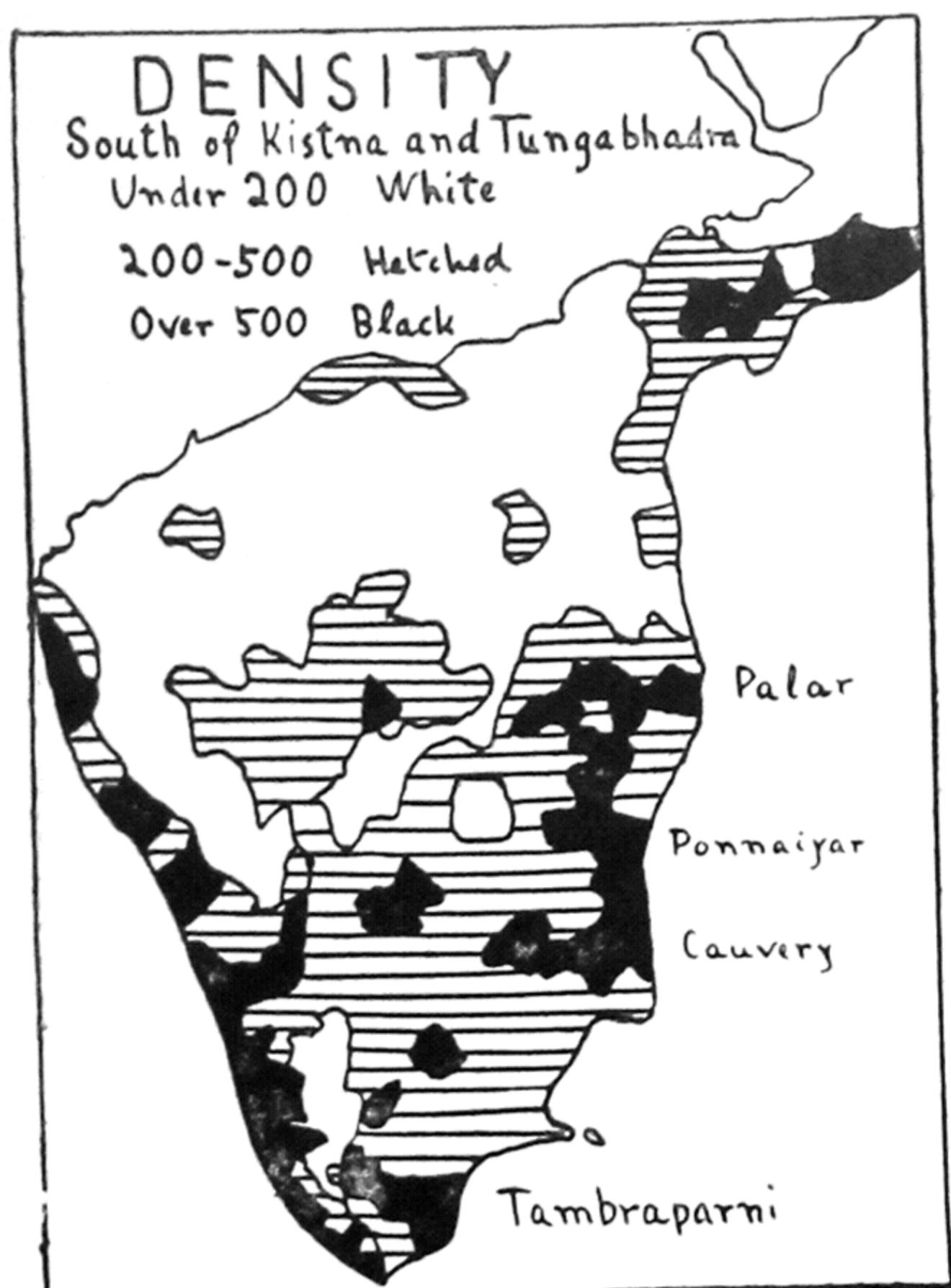
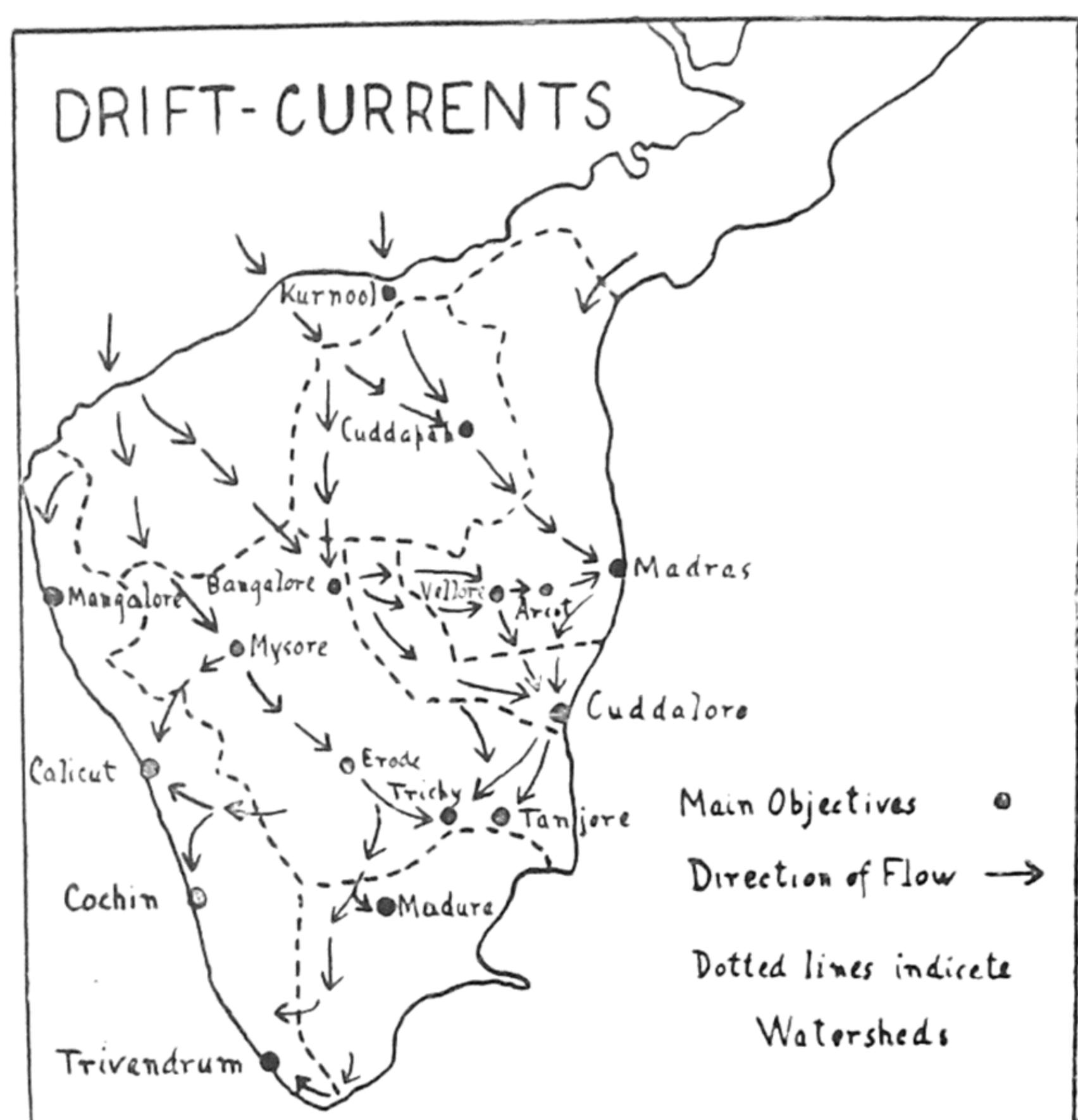


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

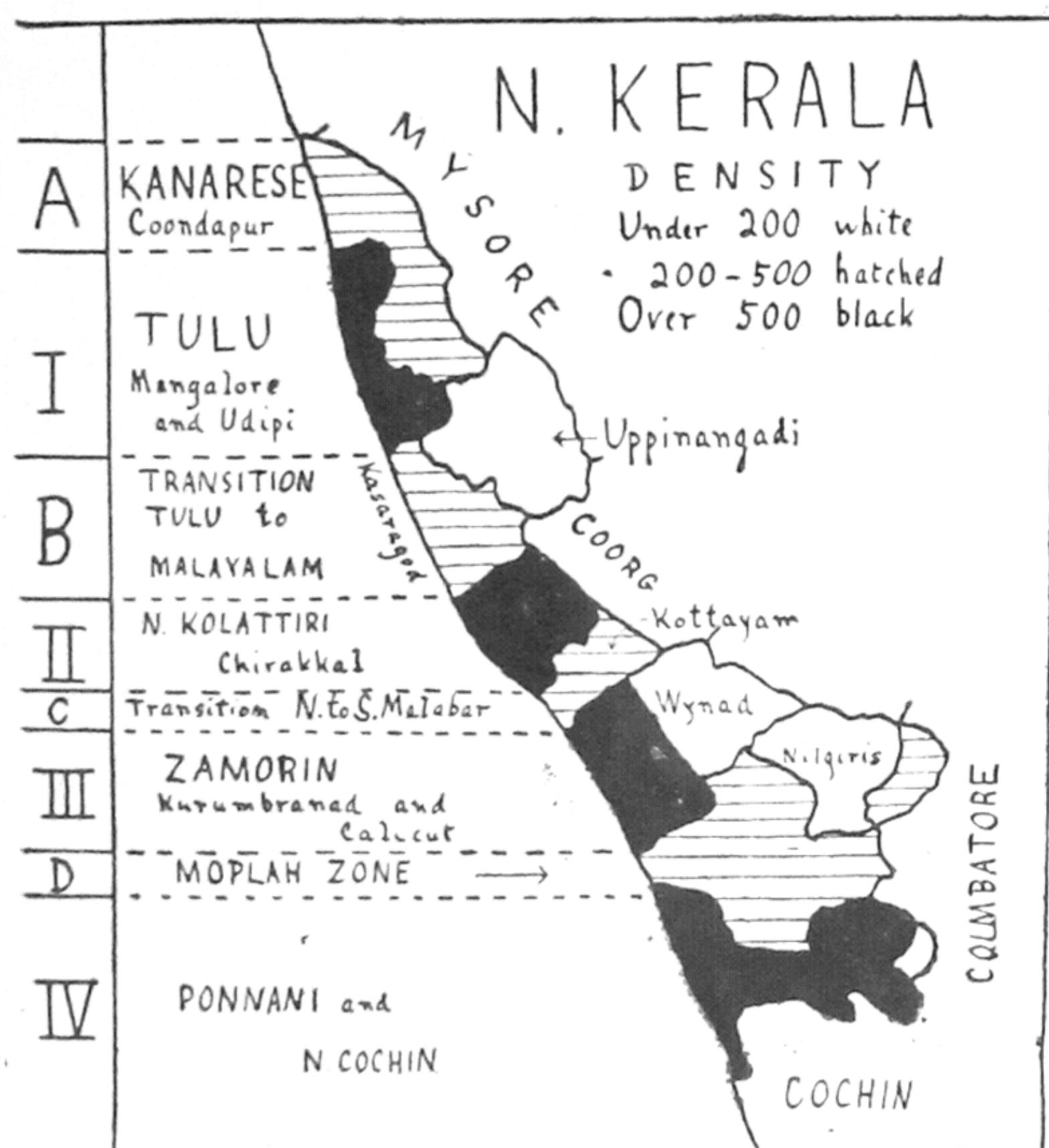
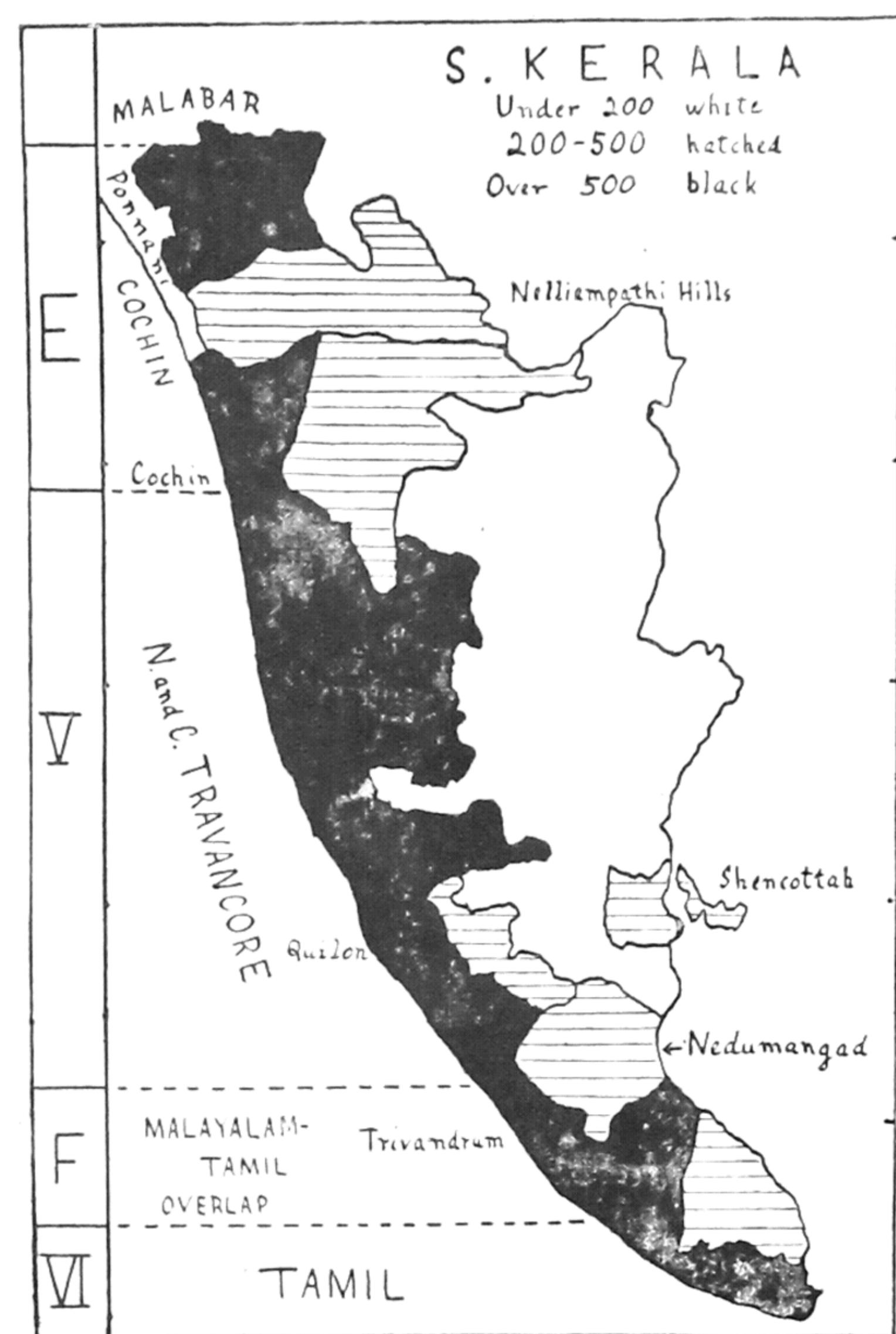


Fig. 7.



N. CIRCARS

## DENSITY

Under 200 white  
200-500 hatched  
Over 500 black

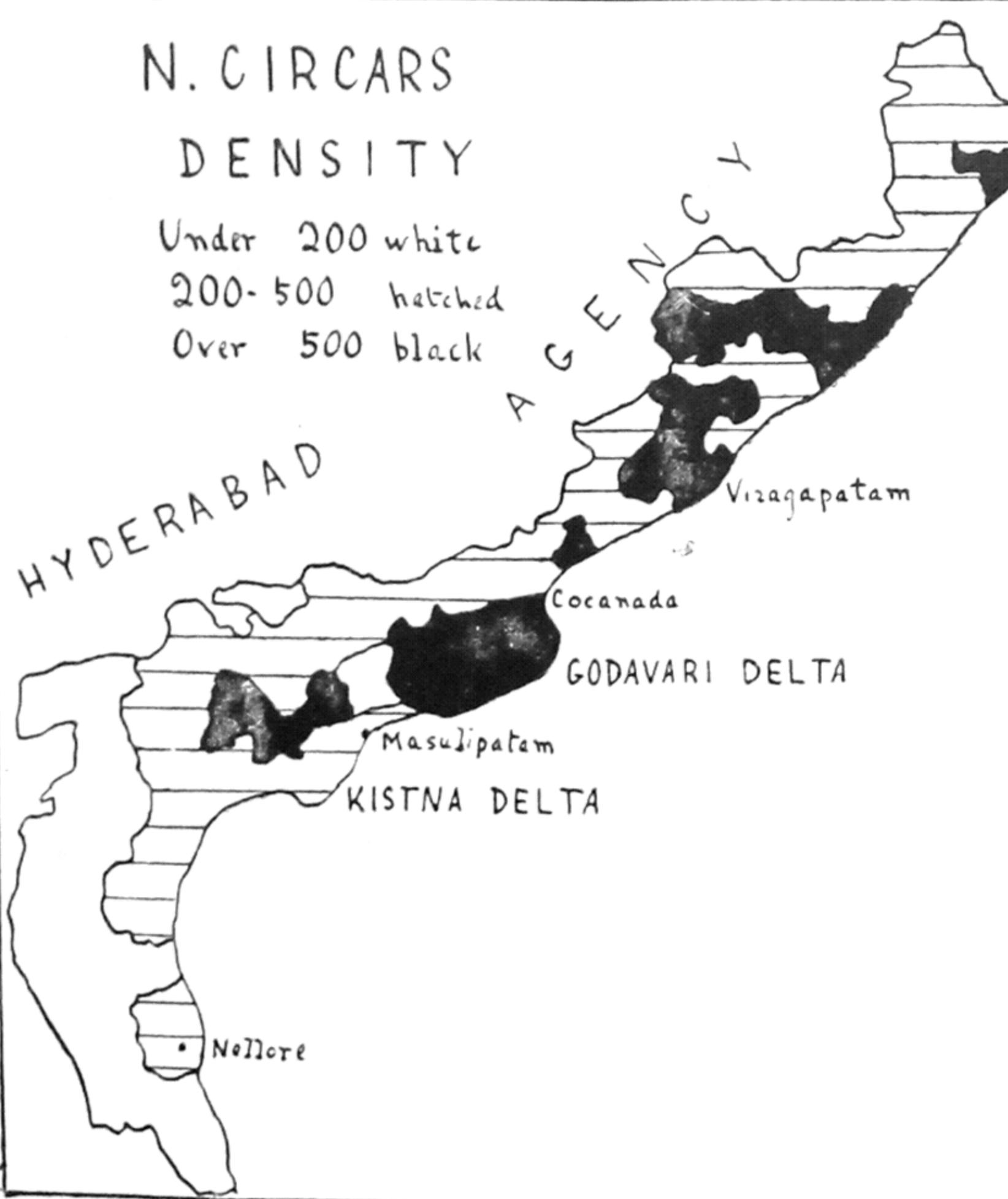


Fig. 8.

TAMIL PLAINS

**DENSITY**

Under 200 white  
200-500 hatched  
Over 500 black

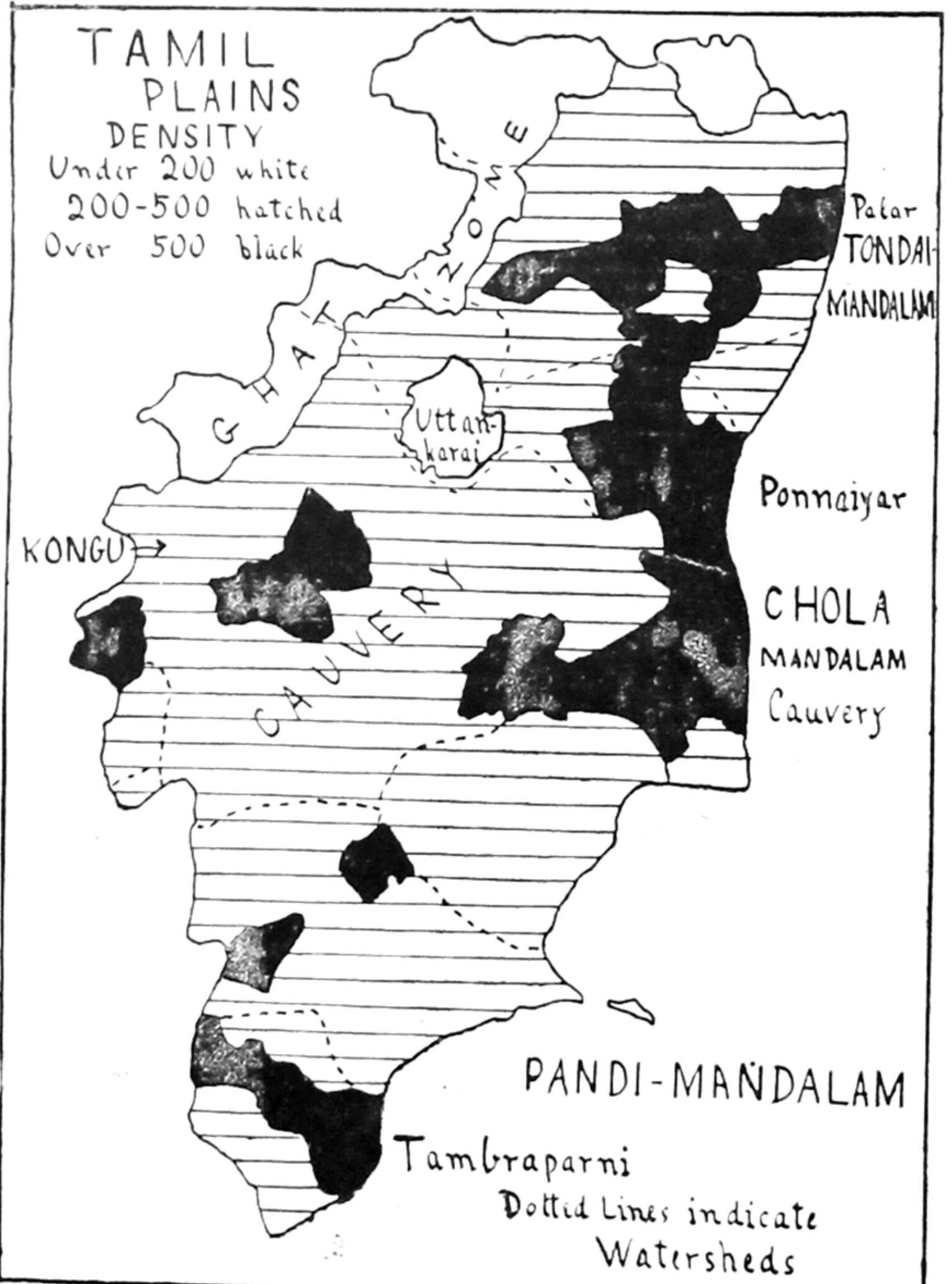


Fig. 9.



Three big rivers, the Kistna, the Godâvari and the Kâvâri rise in the Western Ghâts and flow across the plateau to the East Coast. In the south-eastern portion of the plateau, between the basins of the Kistna and the Kâvâri, and taking their rise from Nandidrug, is another "trinity of rivers"—the North Pinâkini or Penner, the Pâlâr and the South Pinâkini or Ponnaiyâr. (Fig. 3, Pl. II.)

For census purposes the Presidency is divided into six natural divisions. (Fig. 2, Pl. II.)

1. West Coast.	4. Deccan.
2. Agency.	5. East Coast, Central.
3. East Coast, North.	6. East Coast, South.

I have examined each of these divisions in detail; also the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Taking the *tâluk* as a unit (the district is too large a unit for detailed study), I have plotted the results in Fig. 4, Pl. II.

1. The West Coast is a marginal area. The narrow coastal plain, densely populated, is backed by a belt of low density, the area covered by the Western Ghâts. The continuity of this mountain belt is broken by two gaps—(1) at Pâlghât and (2) at Shencottah. Only at these two points is the line crossed by railways.

The high density of the coastal plain is interrupted in three places by areas of medium density. It is conspicuously constricted at two other points, *viz.*, South Cochin and again south of the Tinnevelly-Quilon Railway. (Figs. 6 and 7, Pl. III.)

Along this strip north-to-south movement is not easy: rivers are numerous and torrential. The railway from Tellicherry to Mangalore is a recent extension; Travancore is provided for by a fairly complete system of canals from Cochin to Trivandrum.

This configuration is reflected in the history and geography of the tract. Political frontiers oscillate, but the oscillations are controlled by geographical factors. I tabulate the areas, numbering the high density sections and lettering those of low density from north to south.

A. Coondapoor Tâluk (Fig. 6, Pl. III), populated by Kanarese speaking Bants, is a "spill-area" of cultural and racial influence from NW. Mysore State (Shimoga Dt.) through the territory of the Nâyakas of Bednûr (otherwise known as Keladi or Nagar). The Ghâts here are partly broken by the Sharâvati river, which plunges down the famous Gersoppa Falls. The Kanarese element is intrusive and has not made much impression.

I. Udupi and Mangalore Tâluks, the stronghold of the Tulus, a matrilineal folk.

B. Kâsaragod Tâluk: the transitional area between the Tulu country and Malayâlî Kêrala, the home of the Nâyar and the Nambûdiri. The approach to the sea of the sparsely populated tâluk of Uppinangadi has no doubt helped to make this a frontier.

II. Chîrakkal tâluk, the seat of the Northern Kolattiris, the principal beneficiary in North Malabar in the partition effected by the Perumâls.

C. Kôttayam tâluk, and III (a) Kurumbranâd tâluk at one time owed allegiance to the Northern Kolattiri. Kôttayam being of lower density than Chîrakkal or Kurumbranâd, the territory was not homogeneous, the Kolattiri was always troubled by the rebellion of his feudatories (particularly his own relative, the Kôttayam Râja) and the aggressions of Zamorin.

III. (b) Calicut, the seat of the Zamorin, who got no territory at the Perumâl's partition, but only a sword to conquer with.

D. Ernâd and Walluvanâd tâluks, the "Moplah Zone." The Moplahs were the Zamorin's men. They are associated with the Zamorin's policy of trade with Arabia, which brought Vasco da Gama to Calicut.

IV. Ponnâni tâluk : an intensely fertile tract with a density of over 1000. Pâlghât in the hinterland is the gate to the Tamil country and dominated by Tamil Brâhmans. Ethnographically, Pâlghât contains strong Tamil elements; *e.g.*, Taragars and Kaikolars. But the immigrants have all, to some extent, assimilated Malayâlî culture. Ponnâni is an area of transition, and owes its importance, in part at least, to the peculiar configuration of the Cochin State. The northern portion of Cochin supports a population of over 500 per square mile, and, with South Walluvanad, forms an avenue of approach to the port of Cochin and its backwater, which might be one of the finest harbours in the world, but for the difficulties created by its bar and the south-west monsoon. Cochin backwater is the strongest "magnetic" centre on the West Coast south of Bombay, a centripetal focus *par excellence*. It has attracted Romans, Jews and Syrian Christians, Portuguese, Dutch and British. The Shoranûr-Ernakulam Railway is but one of many evidences of the deflection of movement—cultural, racial and economic—to the objective of Cochin backwater. The railway takes a short cut through broken country ; the real route lay through Ponnâni tâluk, and there is evidence of this deflection in the social ingredients of Ponnâni tâluk itself.

E. To the Nelliampathi Hills (see Fig. 7, Pl. III) Cochin undoubtedly owes its survival as a sovereign state. For generations Cochin groaned beneath the upper and nether millstones, the Zamorin and Travancore. But thanks to the Nelliampathis, Cochin can only be attacked from the north on a narrow front, and Trivandrum is too far distant to control it effectively.

V. In North and Central Travancore, the culture of Kêrala has full play. A strip of maximum density (over 1000 per square mile) runs almost without break along the seaboard from end to end. The Ghâts form an impenetrable shield except for the loophole of the Shencottah Pass, and even here Tamil influence has not penetrated far, for Travancore holds territory to the eastward of the pass and density is relatively low.

F. Nedumangâd, with a population of only 300 to the square mile, marks the end of undiluted Malabar. Trivandrum is the southern limit of the "maximum density" seaboard. Nearly one-fifth of its people speak Tamil.

VI. Thence southward lies an area of transition, and at Cape Comorin the transition is complete. We know from inscriptions that the southernmost tâluks of Travancore were for centuries dominated politically and culturally by Tamil Pâñdîyas. The Census figures (1901) are significant.<sup>4</sup>

2. **The Agency** is, thanks to malaria, one vast area of isolation. Geographically it is an annexe to the great mountain belt that separates the Indo-Gangetic plains from Peninsular India. In the transmission of cultural influence it is a barrier which cannot be crossed. True, there are racial and cultural movements within it, and parts of it are loosely controlled by an immigrant aristocracy, but these can only be explained by a comprehensive study of the whole Vindhya belt, and such a study has yet to be made. Only in two tâluks, Jeypore and the Northern Udayagiri, does density rise beyond 150 per square mile. For my present purpose the Agency may be regarded as a blank wall.

3. **The East Coast, Northern Division** (the Northern Circars) is a narrow coastal plain, not unlike the West Coast. On the north its extension in the coastal plain of Orissa gives access to Bengal. The Oriyas have penetrated into Ganjam, but the passage is constricted by the Chilka Lake. In the centre two large magnetic foci are created (Fig. 8, Pl. III) by the deltas of the Godâvari and Kistna, between which lies the Colair Lake. The Kistna delta is accessible from the Deccan, as the histories of Bâdâmi, Warangal and Golkonda and the railway from Warangal to Bezwâda and from Guntakkal to Guntûr testify. The Colair Lake has,

<sup>4</sup> From north to south the percentage of Tamil speakers in the southern tâluks is as follows : Trivandrum 19, Neyyattinkara 15, Vilavankod 71, Kalkulam 83, Eraniel 92, Agastisvaram 97, Tovala 99,

to some extent, but very imperfectly, protected the Godâvari Delta from aggression from this quarter.

On the south these deltas can be got at from two quarters by way of the narrow barren plain of Nellore, *viz.*, (1) from Madras, and (2) from Cuddapah. But transit by these routes is not easy, the passage from Madras is constricted by the Pulicat Lake and spurs of the Chittoor hills, that from Cuddapah by the difficulties of the Badvel Pass. The Tamil Chôlas forced their way northward, and the Kâkatiyas of Warangal southward, past Pulicat, but they could not hold their conquests. Krishna Râya of Vijayanagar only succeeded (via Cuddapah) by capturing Udayagiri, where the Badvel Pass debouches, and by protecting his flank from Warangal aggression by the quadrilateral of forts Vinukonâda, Kondavîdu, Kondapalli and Bellamkonâda. (See Fig. 5, Pl. II.)

On the whole the history of this Eastern Coastal Plain is not unlike that of the West Coast. Within the area political boundaries oscillate and sections of it tend to break up into petty principalities.

4. **The Deccan** (Northern and Central) is a vast area of low density, broken here and there with patches of medium density, most of them marking the sites of former capitals, *e.g.*, Gulgarga, Golkonda, Warangal, Banavâsi, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah. On East and West alike its frontier is a belt of deterrent mountains and jungles. To the south, in Mysore State, lies a large compact area carrying a moderately dense population, and this in turn is bounded on the south by a belt of low density, broken only at one point, south-east of Mysore. This belt, the "Poligar Belt," is of great importance in the history and ethnography of South India, for it is the line along which the Plateau breaks away to the Plains, and it marks the frontier between the Tamils and the Telugu-Kanarese nations. It is true that this frontier has frequently been overpassed, but whoever crosses it finds himself in a foreign and hostile country.

The fairly populous area within this belt is not homogeneous. The western and larger portion, the Mysore homeland, lies within the basin of the Upper Kâvêri. The eastern portion, East Mysore, is an overlap area covering the head streams of the Penner, the Ponnaiyâr, and the Pâlâr. The significance of this distinction will be apparent when we come to examine—

5 and 6. **The East Coast, Central and Southern Divisions.**—These divisions are best taken together. They comprise the homeland of the Tamils. They have three centripetal foci, areas of maximum density,—(a) Madras, (b) Kumbakonam and (c) Madura.

The first two are linked by a densely populated area of irregular shape. This area is made up of the basins of the Middle and Lower Pâlâr in the north and the basin of the Lower Kâvêri in the south. Between the two is the fertile basin of the Lower Ponnaiyâr, which enters the sea near Cuddalore. The Ponnaiyâr area is linked with the Kâvêri area by the basin of the Vellâr, which flows into the sea at Porto Novo. The Pâlâr area is linked with the Ponnaiyâr area, not by the coast line, but by a fertile tract comprised in the tâluks of Wandiwash and Gingee.

At the head of the Kâvêri delta stands Trichinopoly, the principal seat of Chôla power, and throughout the ages of immense strategic importance. The Pâlâr enters the coastal plain at Arcot, not far from Conjeeveram, the capital of the Pâlâr Plain from time immemorial. The strategic centre of the middle Pâlâr is Vellore. It is obvious that to any army marching between the Pâlâr area and the lower Kâvêri the possession of Gingee is vital.

Madura stands by itself. It is not linked up with any other area of high density. To this fact it owes its strength and importance. It is sheltered from aggression on the north and west and east by a belt of rough untempting country, the stronghold of the predatory Kallar, and beyond this, to the east and south, stretch the dreary plains of Râmnâd, the homeland of the warlike Maravars. Even the railway from Madras makes a big detour through Dindigul to get there.

Beyond Madura to the south lies the "terminal" area of Tinnevelly; through the heart of which runs the densely populated valley of the Tambraparni, with Tuticorin still trading overseas, as Kâyal did in the Middle Ages, and Korkai in the days of the early Cæsars.

Tinnevelly is the handmaid, but never the master, of Madura. The two together formed the homeland of the Pândyas, as the Lower Kâvâri did that of the Chôlas, and the Lower Pâlâr (known to history as *Tondamandalam*) that of the Pallavas.

Two other areas remain. In the hinterland north of Salem is a sparsely populated area, the tâluk of Uttangarai. The paucity of population is due to the hill complex which culminates in the Shevaroys. (See Fig. 11, Pl. IV.) These hills are more important than a density map would lead us to suppose. They stretch north-eastwards (south of the Pâlâr) right through to Vellore, with outliers beyond. They spread southwards and eastwards into the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot. Westwards they trend, at lower elevations, right up to the Kâvâri at the point where it quits the Poligar Belt. Only at three points do these hills permit<sup>5</sup> of access to the coastal plain, viz., (1) through the Âttûr gap east of Salem to the headwaters of the Vellâr, (2) through the rough Chengam Pass (near where the Ponnaiyâr breaks through) to Tirukkoyilûr and Cuddalore, and (3) in the north-west corner, by way of Tiruppattûr to Vellore and the Pâlâr valley.

The westward limit of this hill complex is the frontier between the basins of the Middle Kâvâri and the Middle Ponnaiyâr, the former the Kongu country of history, (the present district of Coimbatore and the southern half of Salem), the latter the Bâramahâl (North Salem).

These two areas, Kongu and the Bâramahâl, the basins of the Middle Kâvâri and Middle Ponnaiyâr, have an important bearing on migrations in South India. So also has the "entrenched" basin of the Middle Penner (North Pinâkini). It is these that determine the three lines of approach to the Tamil country. (Figs. 10 and 11, Pl. IV.)

A. *Tondamandalam* is accessible with difficulty from the Northern Circars, as already described, by way of Nellore. It is easily accessible from the south. It is also accessible by the Middle Pâlâr valley, and on this several routes impinge. The chief of them are, (i) the Mâmandûr Pass, through which the railway runs from Cuddapah to Madras, (ii) The Dâmalcheruvu Pass in the north-west corner of Chittoor district, (iii) the Môgili Pass from Kolâr to Chittoor, (iv) the Nâyakanâri Pass a little further south, which enters the Pâlâr valley north of Âmbûr. The valley can also, as already pointed out, be entered from the Bâramahâl, which, in turn, is fairly easily accessible from Bangalore, Mysore and Kolâr.

B. *Chôlamandalam* (the Kâvâri Delta) is accessible easily from the north, as already described; also from the west from Kongu. Access from the Bâramahâl (through Chengam) is difficult.

C. *Pândimandalam* (the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly) is accessible only with difficulty from *Chôlamandalam*, but with comparative ease from the north-west corner, *i.e.*, from Kongu. But Madura City is shielded by the hills that lie between it and Dindigul. On the other hand, *Chôlamandalam* bears a teeming population and, owing to the narrowing of the valley above Trichinopoly, it is well adapted for defence against aggression from the West. Hence a movement from Kongu is apt to be checked at Trichinopoly, and diverted through Dindigul into the western half of Tinnevelly, missing out Madura.

Kongu itself was accessible from Mysore by the three passes of (i) Gajjalhattî, (ii) Hâsanûr and (iii) Kâvâripuram. During the nineteenth century all these three routes, which traverse very rough country, have gone out of use.

(*To be continued.*)

<sup>5</sup> Or did till recently. We can safely ignore the achievements of modern road and railway engineering.

Fig. 10.

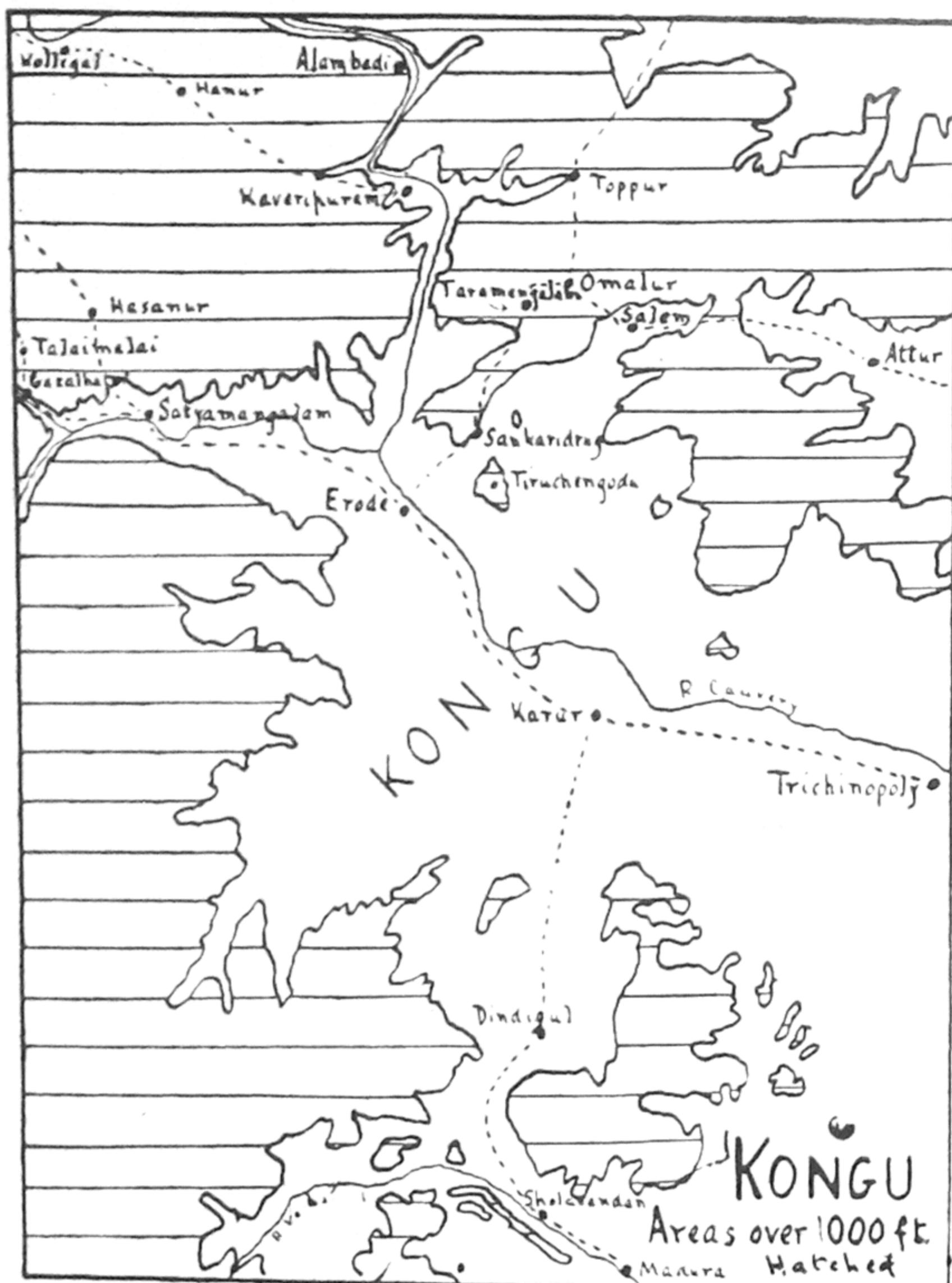


Fig. 11.



RASHTRAKUTA

## INSCRIPTIONS

The lines indicate  
Watersheds

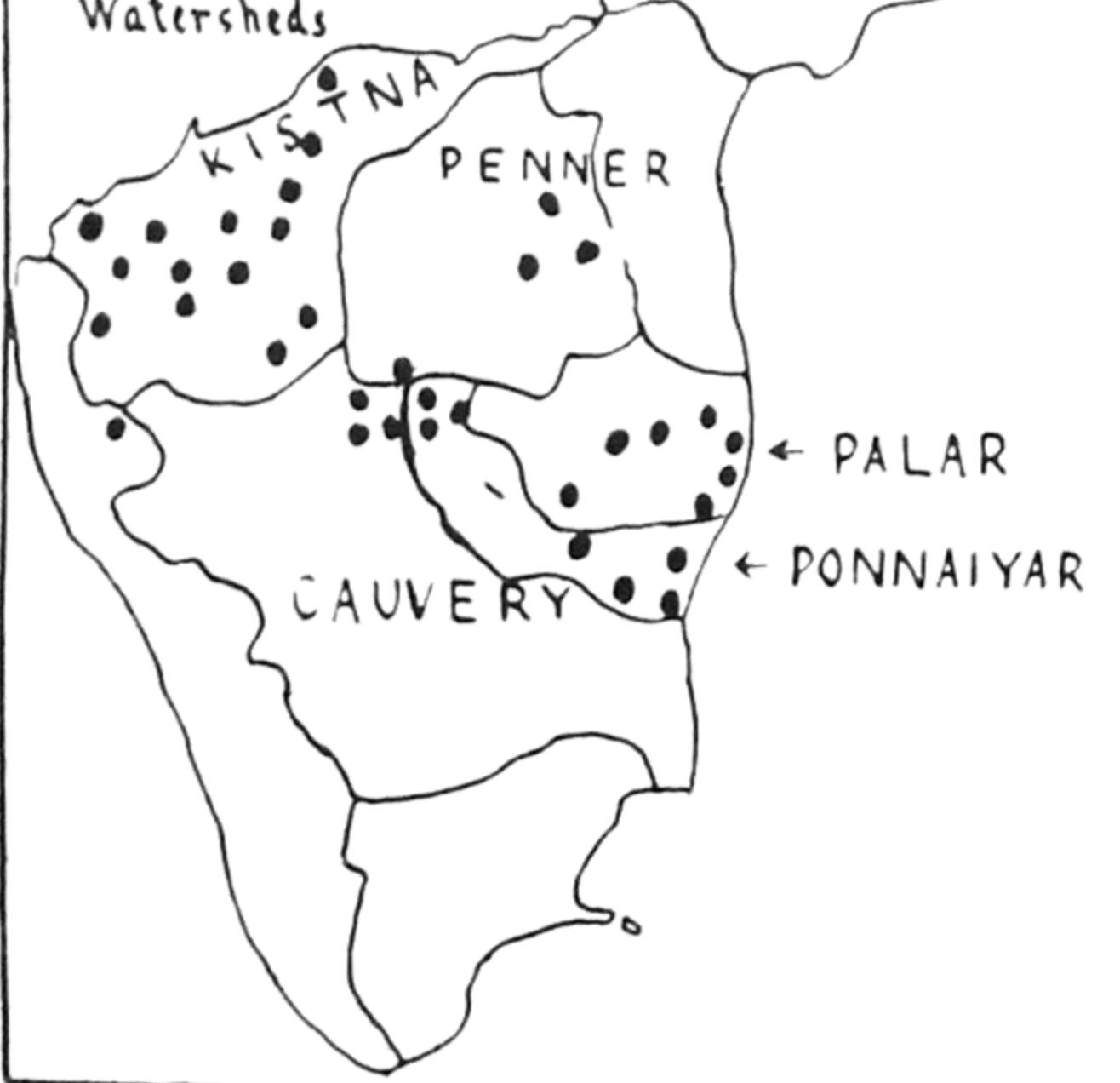


Fig. 12.

HOYSALA

## INSCRIPTIONS

The lines indicate  
Watersheds

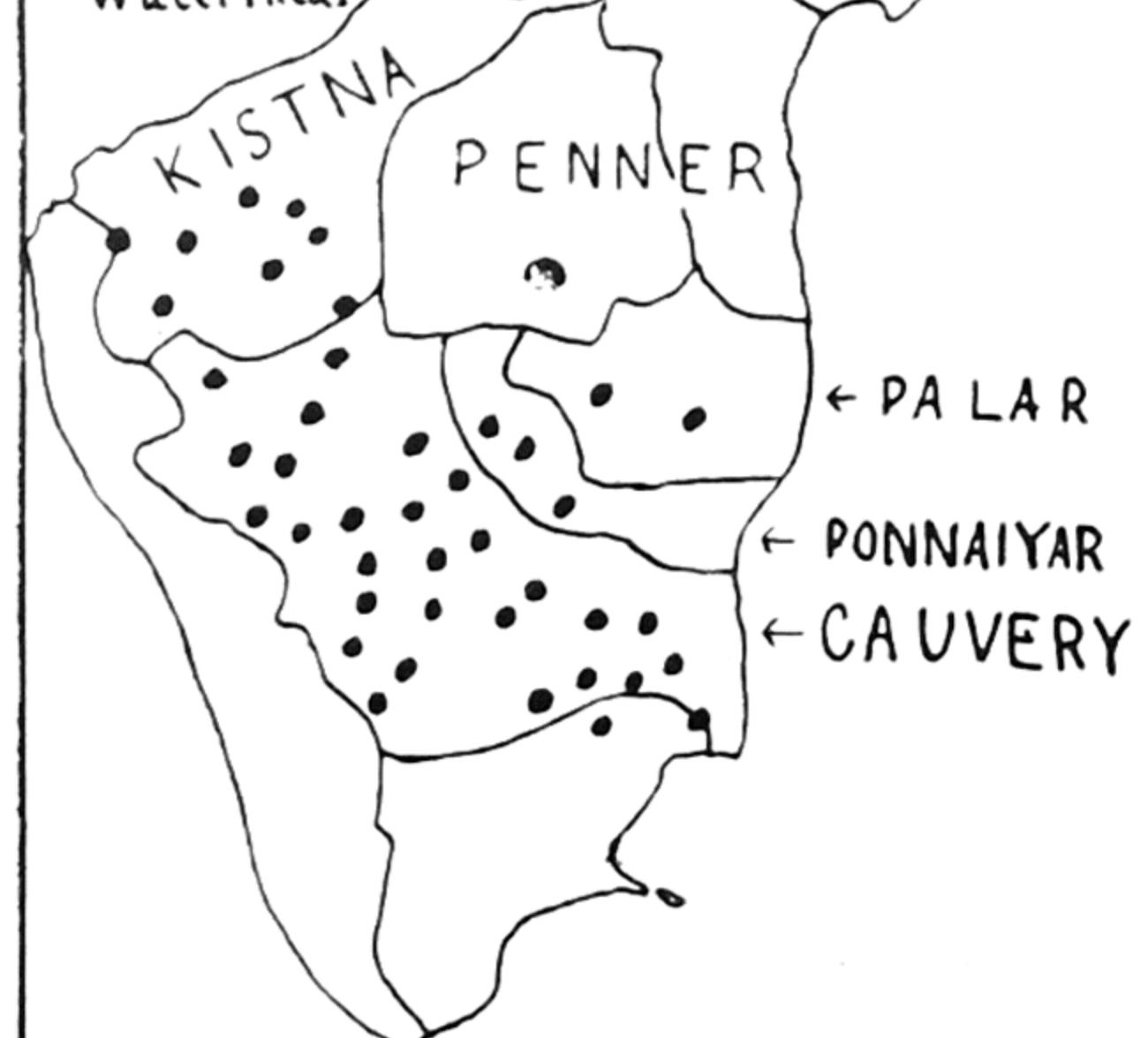


Fig. 13.



## SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retired.)

THE Turkish admiral Sîdî 'Alî is widely known to students of geography as the author of the *Muhit*, the 'encircling' or 'surrounding' (sea), a compilation from different sources of instructions for navigating the seas between Persia and China. We now know, thanks to the researches of MM. Ferrand and Gaudefroy-Demombynes,<sup>1</sup> that this work is largely a translation from certain previous records, MS. copies of which are preserved among the Arabic MSS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Whatever his sources may have been, the work is of great value in that it contains much detailed information about the routes followed by the Arab navigators in the later middle ages, before the Portuguese had traversed these eastern waters and by their descriptions and charts revealed them to the West. The topographical chapters of the *Muhit* were carefully translated into German by Dr. M. Bittner of the Imperial University of Vienna. This translation was published in 1897, with a learned introduction and a series of valuable maps specially prepared to illustrate the geographical information furnished therein, as compared with that available from the earliest Portuguese maps and charts, by Dr. W. Tomaschek of the same University.<sup>2</sup>

Another work by Sîdî 'Alî, entitled *Mirât al-mamâlik*, 'The Mirror of Countries,' is perhaps less widely known. This was edited and translated into German by H. F. von Diez in 1815, and some years later translated into French by M. Morris and published in the *Journal Asiatique 1<sup>e</sup> série, t. IX and X*, 1826-27. In 1899 the celebrated Central Asian traveller and explorer, Arminius Vambery, published a fresh translation in English from the then latest printed edition published at Constantinople in 1895. This little book, which has been described by the late Dr. V. A. Smith as "badly translated and annotated,"<sup>3</sup> is not often met with. A perusal of the portion relating to Sîdî 'Alî's adventures in India and the identifications suggested for some of the places visited might indeed lead a casual reader to doubt whether the admiral had actually made the journeys and had the experiences he relates. A close examination, however, shows that the narrative is corroborated in numerous respects from a variety of independent sources, that his route can be clearly identified from stage to stage, and, therefore, that his story may be accepted as a genuine record of travel. As the account of his experiences in Gujarât, Sind and the Panjâb is of interest and value from many points of view, I propose to give a short summary thereof, following him from place to place. It will be necessary, first of all, to set forth briefly the circumstances that led to his unpremeditated visit to India and thereafter impelled him to undertake his venturesome land journey.

We know little about Sîdî 'Alî beyond what he tells us himself in this remarkable work. He was a contemporary of the great Ottoman emperor, Sulaimân I, "the Magnificent" (1494-1566), who reigned from 1520 to 1566; and most of his active service was passed in the employment of that monarch. His father's name was Husain, and he tells us that his father and ancestor (? grandfather) had held charge of the royal arsenal at Galata since the capture of Constantinople (1453), where they had acquired eminence in their profession, and that he had inherited their knowledge of nautical matters. He had himself studied deeply the art of navigation. He had been present at the capture of Rhodes (referring apparently to the sanguinary attack of 1522, when the Turks suffered such heavy losses). He had taken part, he says, in all the fights in the "western seas" (i.e., in the Mediterranean) and had been present at all the victories of Khairu'd-dîn Pasha.<sup>4</sup> He had written books

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Asiatique, 10<sup>e</sup> série, t. XX*, 1912, p. 547 f.; and G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages, etc.*, t. II, 1914, p. 484 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Wien, Verlag der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1917, p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> His original name was Khîzr, but he became more famous in the West under the soubriquet Barbarossa ('Red Beard').

on astronomy and philosophy and on matters relating to navigation, and was popularly known as *Kâtib-i-Rûmî* (i.e., 'the Turkish writer').

In the course of the war between the *Mughal* emperor *Humâyûn* and *Bahâdur Shâh*, *Sultân* of *Gujarât*, the latter retreated in 1535 to the strong hill fortress of *Mângû*, which was closely invested by *Humâyûn*. When one of the outer gates of the fort was thrown open to the *Mughals* by treachery, according to the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî*, *Bahâdur* fled first to the fort at *Champaner* and thence on to *Diu*, with the object of enlisting the aid of the *Portuguese*. At the same time he sent an envoy to *Egypt*, to solicit the assistance of the *Turks*. Later on he sent an envoy to the *Sultân* of *Turkey* himself. Meanwhile the *Portuguese* having, in the course of their negotiations with *Bahâdur*, obtained the grant of a site on which to build a fort at *Diu*, pushed on its construction with the utmost rapidity. The *Ottoman* *Sultân*, whose ships had previously encountered the *Portuguese* in eastern waters, appears to have been taken with the idea of seizing the occasion to avenge himself upon them and at the same time to obtain a footing in *India*. A large fleet was accordingly collected at *Suez*, troops were despatched and the command of the expedition entrusted to *Sulaimân Pasha*, the governor of *Cairo*. The fleet started in June 1538; *Aden* was sacked in August, and *Diu* reached in September. Faulty tactics, quarrels with the *Gujarâtîs* and the gallantry of the *Portuguese* defence ultimately led to *Sulaimân Pasha*'s discomfiture and finally to his retreat in November. A few years later the *Sultân* of the *Turks* once more conceived a plan for revenging himself upon the *Portuguese* by completing the annexation of *Arabia* and capturing *Hormuz* in the *Persian Gulf*, which was the key to their ascendancy in that region. The command of the expedition fitted out for this purpose was given to the *Egyptian* admiral *Pîrî Beg*, who left *Suez* in 1553 for *Hormuz* with some 30 vessels. After many vicissitudes, and after taking *Maskat* and pillaging *Hormuz*, he was encountered by the *Portuguese* fleet and defeated. He himself escaped to *Egypt* with two ships, while all that remained of his fleet sought refuge at *Basrah*. *Murâd Beg*, who was appointed to take command of these vessels, attempted to take them back to *Egypt*, but was intercepted by the *Portuguese* near *Hormuz* and, after a sanguinary contest, was driven back to *Basrah*. Our author was then appointed by the *Sultân* to the post of *Admiral of Egypt*, and he was directed to proceed to *Basrah* and take the fleet back.

*Sîdî 'Alî* describes briefly his route from *Aleppo*, where the *Sultân* was then holding court, via *Nisibîn* and *Mosul* to *Baghdâd*, making a trip from there to *Karbala*, to visit that sacred site. Returning to *Baghdâd*, he proceeded down the *Tigris* past *Ctesiphon* to *Kut al-Amâra*, whence he seems to have gone down the *Shatt al Hai* channel, as he passed *Wâsit*. From *Wâsit* he went on to *Zakya*, paying a visit to *Ezra*'s tomb, and then by *Mezera* (near *Qûrna*) down to *Basrah*. He sailed from *Basrah* on the 1st *Sha'bân* 961 A.H. (beginning of July 1554)<sup>5</sup> to *Rîshahr* (near *Bushire*) with the ships bound for *Egypt*. If the route followed from *Wâsit* past *Basrah* to the open sea were accurately identified, it might furnish some interesting evidence as to the conditions of the *Euphrates-Tigris* delta some four centuries ago. From *Rîshahr* the fleet crossed the *Gulf* to *Qâtif* on the *Arabian* coast of *al-Hasa*, passing on to *Bahrain*, recrossing the *Gulf* to *Qais Island*, and so on to *Hormuz*. No news being obtainable at any of these stages of the *Portuguese* fleet, *Sîdî 'Alî* moved on to the *Julfâr* (modern *Râs al-Khaima*) coast round cape *Râs Masandam* and past *Lîmah* until, in the vicinity of *Khûr Fakkân*, he met the *Portuguese* fleet comprising 25 vessels, of which 12 were small galleys. After a fierce fight, he tells us, the *Portuguese* lost one galleon and hove off in the direction of *Hormuz*. *Sîdî 'Alî* proceeded to *Sohâr*, where he seems to have stopped, as it was not till the 16th day after the fight near *Khûr Fakkân* that he arrived opposite *Maskat* and *Qalhât*, when another and stronger *Portuguese* fleet, commanded by "the *admiral of Goa*, the son of the *Governor*," put out from *Maskat* and attacked him. The *Turkish* fleet was no match for their opponents' big and heavily armed ships of war.

<sup>5</sup> *Vambéry* writes on the 1st *Shawâl*, which is clearly incorrect.

However, they seem to have put up a gallant fight till nightfall, when, according to our author, the Portuguese sailed off in the direction of Hormuz. The Portuguese account of this battle is very different, claiming a more or less complete victory, as in fact it must have been, as only nine out of fifteen Turkish ships escaped. A storm coming on, the Turkish fleet, which was close inshore, dragged their anchors and had to set sail and put out to sea. Instead of making Râs al Hadd, as they should have if they were to reach Egypt, they drifted across the Gulf of Omân towards the coast of the Kirmân province, near Jâsk. Sailing on in an undecided manner, perhaps driven by the wind, they next approached the coast of Kij-Makrân. Driven out to sea once more, they were buffeted about and next touched at Shâhbâr (close to Tiz), where they fell in with a Muhammadan pirate ship, the captain of which guided them to Gwâdar. Here a pilot was provided by the local ruler, and the fleet, of nine vessels, is said to have headed for Yemen. They had been at sea for several days and were approaching the Arabian coast (according to Diez, near Râs al-Hadd; according to Vambéry, towards Zufâr and Shahar) when a violent storm accompanied by torrential rain broke from the west and, raging continuously for ten days, blew the fleet right across the Arabian Sea to the vicinity of the gulf (or bay) of Jaked,<sup>6</sup> by which is meant the Gulf of Kaech. Here they could see a Hindu ("idol") temple on the coast.<sup>7</sup> Continuing, they skirted the coast of Kâthîâwâd, passing Miâni,<sup>8</sup> Mangrol,<sup>9</sup> Somanâtha,<sup>10</sup> and Diu. Sîdî 'Alî naïvely mentions that while in the neighbourhood of Diu they took care to have no sails hoisted out of fear of the "infidels" (i.e., the Portuguese). The precaution was almost superfluous, as the storm was still so violent that no one could move about on the decks, and the ships were driven headlong towards the coast of Gujarât. Sîdî 'Alî tells us that his vessel was caught in a whirlpool, sucked downwards and so nearly swamped that he and his crew stripped off all their clothing and seized hold of casks and other things, in case they were precipitated into the sea. In this crisis Sîdî 'Alî freed all his slaves and vowed 100 ducats to the poor of Makka. When the sky cleared a little in the afternoon, they found they were about two miles from Damân. The storm-tossed and damaged ships had to lie off Damân for five days more, owing to the wind and the continuous rain, the monsoon<sup>11</sup> being in full force. It would appear from our author's narrative that all nine ships that escaped from the fight near Maskat had kept the same course—a remarkable fact, having regard to the weather conditions—and reached the coast near Damân. Three ran ashore and were evidently completely wrecked, as their guns and equipment were made over to Malik Asad, "the Governor of Damân." His own ship had sprung a very bad leak. We are not told to what extent the others had been damaged, but all were evidently in a bad way, as it took another five days to struggle on to Surat, whither they were invited by Imâdu'l-mulk, the Vazîr of Sultân Ahmad, so that they might be safe from attack by the Portuguese, Damân being then an "open port."

The story told by Sîdî 'Alî of the adventures of this Turkish fleet differs materially from the accounts given by the Portuguese historians, which have been briefly presented in the following extract from *The Portuguese in India* by Mr. F. C. Danvers:—

"The Grand Turk, on hearing that Moradobec had fared no better than the unfortunate Pirbec, gave the command of fifteen galleys to Alechelubij, who had boasted a great deal

<sup>6</sup> The Tcheked of Diez; the Djugd of Vambéry; the Râs Jaked of the *Muhît*; the Punta de Jaquete of the Portuguese; the Jigat of Alexander Hamilton. This is a name that appears in a great variety of spellings on old maps for the westernmost point of Kâthîâwâd, near Dvârakâ.

<sup>7</sup> The "country of Djamher" according to Diez; the "coast of Djamher" according to Vambéry, who adds in a note: "Rectius Djamkher, a subdivision of Ahmed-nâgar, in the Residency of Bombay!" The temple seen was that of Dvârakâ, a well known landmark.

<sup>8</sup> The Fournian of Diez; Formyan of Vambéry; Fûrmîân of the *Muhît*; the Miane of the Portuguese.

<sup>9</sup> Manghalor of Diez; Menglir of Vambéry, who adds a characteristic footnote: "Perhaps meant for Manglaus, Menglaur, in the District of Sahranpur (*sic*)."

<sup>10</sup> Soumenat of Diez; Somenat of Vambéry.

<sup>11</sup> Vambéry translates the sentence: "for we were now in the Badzad or rainy season of India," and in a footnote suggests the Persian *bâdzad*, 'hurricane,' 'whirlwind'; but the word is obviously meant for *barsât*, the usual term (of Sanskritic origin) for the rainy season in India.

about what he could do. Dom Fernando de Noronha, who had returned from the Red Sea after his fruitless endeavour to capture the fort of Dofar, went out to meet Alechelubij, and fell in with him on the 25th August, 1553,<sup>12</sup> near Muscat. The enemy, not daring to risk a battle, endeavoured to escape with his whole fleet, but six of his vessels were captured by the Portuguese caravels. Dom Fernando de Noronha then put into Muscat, where he refitted the galleys, purchased slaves, and appointed captains. Alechelubij was pursued by some Portuguese vessels, and driven with seven out of his nine ships, into Surat, and there hemmed in by Dom Jeronymo de Castello-Branco, Nuno de Castro, and Dom Manoel de Mascarenhas. The remaining two ships were pursued by Dom Fernando de Monroyo and Antonio Valladares, who drove them on to the coasts of Daman and Daru<sup>13</sup> (*sic*) respectively, where they went on the rocks and were dashed to pieces."

Danvers seems to have relied chiefly on Faria y Sousa. The accounts given by Diogo do Couto and Francisco d'Andrade similarly differ in several respects from the narrative of Sidi 'Ali—naturally enough, in that they set forth the version of his opponents—but in other matters they corroborate him. For instance, Sidi 'Ali writes that he left Basrah with fifteen vessels under his command; that he encountered the Portuguese fleet near Maskat, whence it issued on the 27th *Ramazán* 761 A.H. at dawn of day; that the Portuguese admiral was the son of the Governor of Goa; that one of his vessels was set on fire; that the Portuguese ships were all beflagged; that he escaped with nine of his vessels; and that they were eventually driven (by incessant storms, however, and not by the Portuguese) on to the coast of Gujarāt. On all these points, Sidi 'Ali is borne out by Portuguese accounts. For example, do Couto says Alecheluby had fifteen vessels, of which nine escaped in the direction of Cambay; that Dom Fernando, son of Dom Affonso de Noronha, commanded the Portuguese fleet, which fought with flags dressed out. Sidi 'Ali states that he reached Surat three months after leaving Basrah, which means at the beginning of October; and as he did not enter Surat harbour till at least ten days after he had arrived at the coast near Damān, he must have reached the coast of Gujarāt towards the end of September, which is consistent with d'Andrade's account. All the Portuguese accounts (possibly deriving from the same source) seem to agree in saying that seven Turkish ships took refuge at Surat. Sidi 'Ali does not tell us how many reached Surat, but he says three ran ashore on the coast; so, unless one of these was salvaged, he could only have taken six into Surat. Again, though the Portuguese accounts state that the Turks were pursued, we are not told when the pursuit started, or what happened to the pursuing ships between Maskat and Gujarāt, to prevent their reaching Gujarāt before the Turks. Sidi 'Ali's narrative, on the other hand, would explain why his vessels were so delayed in reaching Damān in spite of the strong SW. monsoon blowing. There appears, then, to be no valid reason for disbelieving his account of his adventures by the coasts of Kirmān, Makrān and Kāthiāwād, or in fact to doubt the reliability of his narrative as a whole.

Unfortunately the period during which Sidi 'Ali arrived in Gujarāt was one of the greatest turmoil and confusion in its history. Maḥmūd II had recently been murdered, and Ahmad Khān had been set up as Ahmad Shāh II, a Sultān in little more than name, while the ministers and nobles quarrelled and fought among themselves, frequent changes occurring in the personnel of the court and local officials. Sidi 'Ali tells us that he made over the cannon and munitions saved from the stranded ships to Malik Asad,<sup>14</sup> then in command at Damān. Some of his crew took service at once under this officer, while some went by land to Surat. He himself with such of his officers and crew as remained faithful, proceeded, at

<sup>12</sup> 1553 is clearly a mistake on the part of Danvers for 1554, as it is unmistakable from the Portuguese histories that the sea-fight took place in August 1554. Sidi 'Ali fixes the date in stating that it was the *lailatu'l-qadr* (i.e., 27th *Ramazán*) 761 A.H.

<sup>13</sup> Danvers writes "Daru," but there is no such place. The Danu of do Couto and d'Andrade is obviously Dāhānu, on the coast about 35 miles S. of Damān, a place once held by the Portuguese, where there is still an old fort. (See *I.G.*, s.v. Danu.)

<sup>14</sup> Probably Asad Khān Ismā'il Salmānī.

the invitation of Imâdu'l-mulk,<sup>15</sup> "the Grand Vazîr of Sultân Ahmâd," by sea to Surat, where he was safe for the time being from the Portuguese. He gives us a brief account of the local political conditions, referring to the recent murder of Sultân Mahmûd, and mentioning Nâşiru'l-mulk, Khudâwand Khân and 'Adil Khân, all of whom are known to have played various roles at that time.

Having come to the conclusion that it was out of the question attempting to return to Egypt by sea, Sîdî 'Alî decided to try and make his way back to Constantinople by land, via Sind, the Panjâb and Afghânistân. The deserted ships, with all that was left of their armament, were made over to Khudâwand Khân, Governor of Surat, on condition that he would remit to the Porte the amount settled as their value. We are not told whether this account was ever discharged!

Towards the end of November<sup>16</sup> or the beginning of December,<sup>17</sup> 1554,<sup>18</sup> Sîdî 'Alî started on his long land journey, accompanied by Muştafa Âghâ, commandant of the Egyptian janissaries, 'Alî Âghâ, captain of the gunners, and about fifty men, travelling via Broach,<sup>19</sup> Barodâ,<sup>20</sup> Champaner and 'Mahmûdâbâd<sup>21</sup> to Ahmâdâbâd, still the capital of Gujarât, though declining with the decay of the kingdom. On his way he notices the growth of the *târi* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), and how the 'toddy' was collected in pots and left to ferment, and the drinking booths beneath the trees, which were a great attraction to his men. Over-indulgence on one occasion led to a disgraceful brawl, in which two of his men were wounded and one killed. He describes the Banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), with its aerial roots and enormous extent of shade (enough for "thousands" of people), and the huge "bats," i.e., the common Flying Fox (*Pteropus medius*), that hung from them in large numbers; and the innumerable paroquets and thousands of monkeys that surrounded the camp at some stages.

Ahmâdâbâd was reached about 50 days after leaving Surat, probably in the latter half of January 1555. There Sîdî 'Alî had an interview with the Vazîr (Imâdu'l-mulk) and the Sultân (Ahmâd II), who treated him graciously, presenting him with a horse, a team of camels and money towards the expenses of his journey. The Sultân also, he says, offered him the governorship (?) of Broach, with a large income, but this he declined. At the Vazîr's house one day he chanced to meet a Portuguese envoy, and words ran high between them, the envoy threatening that all the ports would be watched against his escape, while Sîdî 'Alî hinted that he could travel by land as well as by sea. While at Ahmâdâbâd, our traveller took the opportunity of paying a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmâd Maghribî at Sarkhej,<sup>22</sup> some five miles distant. This is an important statement since it provides another chance of checking the reliability of Sîdî 'Alî's narrative. From the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*,<sup>23</sup> we find that at Sarkhej there is the tomb of "Shekh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh of Anhilvâdâ," begun in 1445 A.D. by Muhammed Shâh and completed in 1451. This tomb is also mentioned in the Ahmâdâbâd volume of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell,<sup>24</sup> as that of Shaikh Ahmad Khâthi

<sup>15</sup> This must have been Imâdu'l-mulk Aşlân Turkî, frequently mentioned by Hâjjî ad-Dabîr, in his Arabic *History of Gujarât*, as in attendance on Ahmâd II, becoming Prime Minister in 963 A.H. (1555-56).

<sup>16</sup> On the 1st *Muharram* 962 A.H., according to Diez (= 26 November 1554).

<sup>17</sup> Vambéry writes: "in the beginning of Muharram." <sup>18</sup> Vambéry incorrectly writes 1552.

<sup>19</sup> Bouroudj of Diez; Burudj of Vambéry: neither of them have identified the place.

<sup>20</sup> Beloudri of Diez; Belodra of Vambéry, who suggests it is Balotra in Jodhpur State!

<sup>21</sup> The Mehmâdâbâd of our maps and the *I.G.*, but the correct name is 'Mahmûdâbâd, as the town was founded by the famous Sultân Mahmûd Begâda. Strange to say, Vambéry failed to identify even this town, noting: "there is only a place of that name known in Oudh."

<sup>22</sup> Tcherkesch of Diez, and Cherkes of Vambéry, but unidentified by them.

<sup>23</sup> Originally compiled by Dr. J. Burgess, revised by Mr. H. Cousens in 1897. See p. 81.

<sup>24</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. IV, Ahmedabad (1879), p. 18.

Ganj Bakhsh. That the Sultân of Gujarât should have had the tomb built indicates that the *pîr* "was held in great veneration. It is possible that he originally came from Africa or the West, and was therefore called *Maghribî*.<sup>24a</sup> In connexion with his stay at Ahmadâbâd, it should be mentioned that it was here that he compiled his better known work, the *Muhît*, to which reference has been made above (p. 219).

(*To be continued.*)

### THE NINE DVIPAS OF BHARATAVARSA.

BY SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

(Continued from page 208.)

It is not easy to ascertain how many of them belong to the domain of sober Geography. The division into nine was probably a sober statement of fact, but the names of the *dvîpas* in some cases may simply be imaginary also. Moreover, the fact that in the list of the *dvîpas* some have been misplaced is evident from the text of the *Garuḍa* and *Vâmana*, which name other *dvîpas* and do not conform to the usual list ; and so, in the absence of other evidence to corroborate their statements, we are compelled to accept the list of the *dvîpas* given in most of the *Purâṇas*, some of which admit of identification.

Indradvîpa was possibly Burma, as the late Mr. S. N. Mazumdar suggested.<sup>32</sup> He also thought that Kaserumat was the Malay Peninsula.<sup>33</sup> By Tâmravarṇa was probably intended Ceylon. The ancient Greeks called it Taprobane, and Aśoka refers to it as Tam-paṇni. Gabhastimân is identified with the Laccadive and Maldive islands, and Nâga with the islands of Salsette and Elephanta near Bombay.<sup>34</sup> Regarding the Saumya *dvîpa* we have no evidence to enable us to fix its locality, but we can very probably trace the name in the modern name Siam. In fact there is a very close philological similarity between the two names. There is also good reason to think that Siam was one of the nine *dvîpas*, in view of the fact that Burma and Malaya were one. Regarding Gândharva, Mr. Mazumdar gave good reasons for believing that it was the country of Gândhâra.<sup>35</sup> The next *dvîpa* is Vâruṇa. As for myself, I find the only trace of the name in the present Borneo, the striking similarity in the names making the identification likely. The name Vâruṇa, it seems to me, survives in a plainly recognizable form in the present Borneo. And the ninth *dvîpa* was India proper. So we see that the nine *dvîpas* implied India proper and some of the islands of the Far East and of the Indian ocean, all of which came under the general designation of Bhâratavarṣa. The scheme of the nine *dvîpas* was, therefore, an attempt to show the geographical connexion of India proper with the Far East, which at that time was sufficiently impregnated with Indian culture and religion. The result was the geographical conception of the nine *dvîpas* of Bhâratavarṣa, set forth by the *Purâṇas*, intended to bring into closer union with India proper the islands of the Far East and other islands. The *dvîpas* were not, therefore, divisions of India proper.

But we cannot safely accept this conclusion as finally established. There is some other evidence which lends colour to the opposite view, namely, that the nine *dvîpas* represent but another scheme of the nine divisions of India proper in addition to what we know. It has been noticed in connexion with the *ślokas* quoted on page 205 that the ninth *dvîpa* is unanimously stated to have been of one thousand *yojanas* in length. That each of the other

<sup>24a</sup> Sir R. C. Temple, drawing my attention to the *Ain-i-Albarî*, trans. Jarrett, III, 371, points out that Shaikh Ahmad Khâthî was the disciple of Bâbâ Ishâq *Maghribî*, and that the title probably descended from preceptor to disciple.

<sup>32</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar), p. 751.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 752.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 753.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* But there is a strong objection to accepting this identification. Gândhâra is not a *dvîpa* in the same sense as are the other *dvîpas*, which were inaccessible from India proper (of course conventionally), being separated by an ocean.

eight *dvipas* was also of one thousand *yojanas* is also often stated.<sup>36</sup> Now, as *Bhāratavarṣa* was divided into nine *dvipas*, each of which has been stated to be of one thousand *yojanas*, it necessarily follows that *Bhāratavarṣa* was of nine thousand *yojanas*; and in fact all the *Purāṇas* agree as to this.<sup>37</sup> What may be the equivalent in British miles of nine thousand *yojanas* we need not discuss here<sup>38</sup>; or if ascertainable, whether this estimate can be reconciled with the present dimensions of India is quite a different question. What is striking is, that the *Purāṇas* generally are unanimous with regard to the nine thousand *yojana* extent of *Bhāratavarṣa*, inasmuch as they are all agreed with regard to the one thousand length of each of the *dvipas*. So if India proper is *Kumāra dvīpa*, the other countries, such as Burma, Siam, etc., with which the other islands have been identified, must also be equal to it. But this is not a fact, and so there is good reason to consider the reverse view that these nine *dvipas* are but another scheme for dividing India proper into nine divisions in addition to the other schemes we know of. In this view we should not be justified in looking to the countries and islands of the Far East for the identification of the *dvipas*. But if not, how can we explain the unanimous testimony of all the *Purāṇas* that all the *dvipas* were separated from each other by ocean, and as such were mutually inaccessible. It seems to me, as pointed out before, that such statements were merely conventional,<sup>39</sup> inserted only to conform with the symmetrical scheme of the other (primary) *dvipas*, such as Śālmali, Kuśa, Jambu, Krauñca, Plakṣa, etc., which are described as being surrounded by so many concentric circles of ocean and as such mutually inaccessible. So, having placed a sea round each *dvīpa* of the universe, might not the Purāṇic compilers place a sea round each *dvīpa* of *Bhāratavarṣa* also, if only to satisfy their fanciful idea of concentric oceans, implying, of course, that the boundary rivers of a particular *dvīpa* or division will stand for the encircling ocean and convey the idea of a *dvīpa*. We have already seen that Pāṇini considered *dvīpa* as simply meaning 'having water on two sides.' So these nine *dvipas* surrounded by the ocean, and as such mutually inaccessible can also be interpreted as denoting nine divisions of India proper having rivers as their boundaries; and India with its countless rivers will not fail to provide *dvipas*<sup>40</sup> in this sense.

What is more striking is that a *śloka* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*<sup>41</sup> actually restricts *Kumārikā* *Khaṇḍa* (*navama dvīpa*) to the territory between the Pāriyātra and Mahendra mountains, and *Indradvīpa* to the eastern coastal portion of India behind the Mahendra range. Unfortunately the *Skanda Purāṇa* has recorded no other *śloka* of this kind, but the *śloka* quoted above is sufficient to indicate that there was another tradition, which regarded the *dvipas* as so many divisions of India proper. Curiously enough the famous erudite scholar Abul Fazl also (*Āīn*, iii, p. 31) shows acquaintance with this idea. Thus he places *Indradvīpa* between *Laṅkā* and *Mahendra*, and *Kaserumat* between *Mahendra* and *Śukti*, and in this way attempts to record the corresponding divisions of the *dvipas*. Abul Fazl, therefore, also

<sup>36</sup> *Ekaikam yojanasahasrapramāṇam* (*Var.* 85, 1 f.) The *Skanda Purāṇa* also repeats this statement (1, 2, 39, 114); so also Rājaśekhara: *Pratyekam yojanasahasrāvadhayo* (*Kāvyamīmāṃśā*, p. 92).

<sup>37</sup> *Tasyādyan Bhāratam varṣam taccāpi Navadhāsmṛtam*

*Navāyojana sāhasram Dakṣinottara mānataḥ.* (*Skanda Purāṇa*, vii, 1, 11, 7.)

In the *Viś.* (iii, 3, 2), *Br.* (19, 2), *Agni.* (118, 1), *Kūrma* (46, 22), and again in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (iv, 1, 55), such statements are to be found.

<sup>38</sup> Megasthenes put the extent at 22,300 *stadia* and Patrokles put it as 15,000 *stadia* (1,724 miles, *Camb. Hist. of India*, p. 400). The actual distance is probably about 1,800 miles. The distance from east to west is about 1,360 miles (*ibid.*).

<sup>39</sup> Even if the *dvipas* be identifiable with the islands of the Far East as suggested, they were certainly not inaccessible in ancient times, for Hindu maritime and colonizing enterprise was very active.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Antardvīpa*, which meant the Doāb between the Ganges and the Yamunā.

<sup>41</sup> *Mahendraparataścaiva Indradvīpo nigadyate.*

*Pāriyātrasya caivārvāk khaṇḍam kaumārikam smṛtam* (i, 2, 39, 113).

agrees with the tradition which regarded the nine *dvīpas* as so many divisions of India proper. Neither was Alberunī unfamiliar with this. Thus he also represents Indradvīpa (Sachau's edn., vol. I, p. 296) as identical with Mid-India, places Kaserumat to the east of the Madhyadeśa and Gabhastimān to the south of it, and in this way endeavours to locate the several *dvīpas*. But whether or not Abul Fazl and Alberunī agree in their conception of the identification of the *dvīpas* is, however, a different question. As a matter of fact, they do not wholly agree,<sup>42</sup> for the two scholars were separated by a wide interval of time, during which the notions of the *dvīpas* might have undergone change. So what we are to note carefully is that, in spite of their conflicting statements, neither of them proposes to identify any of the *dvīpas* with the islands of the Far East, and both agree in regarding the *dvīpas* as so many divisions of India proper in accordance with the tradition recorded in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

Nothing can be decided with assurance in the present state of our knowledge. We can only state the two possible views. But it may be said, as against the tradition of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, that we have got a clear hint of a greater India connection in the *dvīpas*, from the testimony of the *Garuda* and *Vāmana*. As the *Skanda* is a comparatively modern *Purāṇa*, a conjecture may be hazarded that originally the nine *dvīpas* included, not only India proper, but also the islands of the Far East and other western islands. In a subsequent age perhaps there arose an independent tradition, which sought to increase the number of the stereotyped schemes for the division of India proper into nine parts<sup>43</sup> by evolving another distribution of the continent into nine so-called *dvīpas*. Such a thing was quite possible, if not probable. The *Skanda Purāṇa*, being comparatively modern, embodies this tradition. That such was the common and prevalent idea with regard to the *dvīpas* in medieval times is evident from the testimony of Alberunī and Abul Fazl.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT, by T. N. RAMA-CHANDRAN, M.A. 11" x 8½"; pp. 44; with index and 12 plates. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Madras Govt. Press, 1929.

Of all districts in southern India, Guntur may well claim pre-eminence in respect of the many sites within its limits where important Buddhist remains have been found. Amarāvatī and Bhaṭṭiprolū have long been famous, and within the last few years Mr. Longhurst has shown us that Nāgārjunakonda bids fair to prove of even greater archaeological interest. Not many miles from the latter site, lower down the Kistnā valley, lies the village of Goli, a name which the late Mr. Robert Sewell thought to be probably derived from the three dolmens, or "graves (*goli*) of the Rakṣasas" found near by, but which may possibly have been

suggested by the 'globular' *stūpa*, from the ruins of which the sculptures described in this *Bulletin* have been recovered. As noted by Mr. Rama-chandran, Sewell refers to the *stūpa* site, in vol. I (not vol. 2) of his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* (1882), under Malla-varam, which is the name of another village in the vicinity. In recording the find of two sculptured slabs similar to those at Amarāvatī, Sewell added a warning that the place should be watched, as the remains might prove of great importance. Apparently no heed was paid to this advice, as those two slabs have since been appropriated by the villagers. The possibilities of the site seem to have attracted the attention of that accomplished scholar, Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, who in 1926 had excavations carried out, and the further sculptures recovered were, with his assistance, secured for the Madras Museum,

<sup>42</sup> Thus Alberunī identifies Indradvīpa with Mid-India, and Abul Fazl places it between Laikā and Mahendra. But in some cases they also roughly agree. Thus Alberunī places Kaserumat to the east of Madhyadeśa and Abul Fazl places it between Mahendra and Śukti. With regard to Gabhastimān also they agree to great extent.

<sup>43</sup> The scheme of dividing India into nine parts has been presented in different forms, some of which have been illustrated by lists of countries and peoples in each division. These nine divisions variously represent—

- (1) The nine lunar stations (*Brhat Samhitā*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII, p. 169).
- (2) The eight petals and the central part of the lotus flower (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; ed. by Wilson, vol. II, p. 9).
- (3) The nine different parts of the tortoise's body (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; ch. 58).
- (4) The nine *dvīpas* (various *Purāṇas*).

where they are now preserved. These include three friezes and a number of other slabs of varying size, on which are finely sculptured scenes illustrative of some of the well-known *Jātaka* stories and incidents in the life and teaching of the Buddha.

A detailed and careful description has been given of each panel and slab, noting divergencies from the usual representation of the subject. As most of the themes have been presented in the sculptures at Amarāvatī, the author adds a useful tabular statement, comparing the treatment of the several subjects at the two sites. The correspondence in certain cases, as well as the similarity of the characters engraved on the *caitya* slab (Pl. X) with some inscriptions at Amarāvatī assignable to the third century A.D., lead Mr. Ramachandran to suggest that the Goli *stūpa* probably dates from the same period, no definite indication of its date having been otherwise discovered.

This appears to be the first of a new series of bulletins under preparation by the museum authorities ; and we think Mr. Ramachandran is to be congratulated on the work ; it has been carefully written and suitably arranged, and the plates have been creditably reproduced. A sketch map would have been welcome showing the position of the sites referred to, as Goli and Mallavaram are not marked on the maps ordinarily available. We shall look forward to the appearance of the other works on which, we understand, the author is at present engaged.

C. E. A. W. O.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS, by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., with an Introduction by DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, University of Madras, 1929.

As stated by the learned writer of the Introduction, this work attempts to present a picture of the administrative institutions of the Hindus based primarily on the political portions of the *dharmasāstra* and *arthaśāstra* treatises. The author has devoted praiseworthy industry to the undertaking. The result is a volume of some 400 pages, dealing exhaustively with early Hindu ideas governing the general principles of administration, a description of the machinery and its component parts, including all departments from the Central Government down to the village staff. As would be expected, the writer draws liberally on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya for his materials.

This is a field that has already attracted many workers. The reign of Chandragupta furnishes a convenient starting point for speculation on the method of Government prevailing at the headquarters of the state and in the villages in early Hindu times. A special impetus has been given to such studies by the present political status of India.

Writers such as Mr. Dikshitar seem to set before themselves two objectives, which are pursued by methods that are not consistently historical. The excellence of early Hindu institutions is insisted on, and from this starting point inferences are drawn of

the inherent and inherited capacity of modern Hindu politicians to repeat the triumphs of Aśoka and his ministers. The chief defect of such literary excursions lies in the readiness of the writer to assume that such documents as the *arthaśāstra* convey an accurate impression of the state of India at the time they were composed, and that the working of institutions can be gathered from the intentions of their authors. No such far reaching assumption can be found to be justified by the teachings of experience.

Writers such as the author of the present work have in mind the reasonable deductions that can be drawn from any recorded code of penal legislation, *i.e.*, that the offences for which punishments are provided occur sufficiently frequently to require the provision of specific penalties. On the other hand, however, it is quite impossible to assume that the punishments laid down are regularly, or even usually, inflicted ; and, *a fortiori*, a code of principles for civil and criminal administration, however admirable its precepts, affords little indication of the conduct of officials charged with the duty of enforcing them ; and it is on this latter factor that the state of the country and the happiness of its people obviously depends. From this point of view, Mr. Dikshitar is not an infallible guide when, as on p. 48 *et seq.*, he attempts to contrast the working of western institutions with the former social experiences of Hindu organization. The attempt to prove (p. 76 *et seq.*) that in ancient days Hindu monarchs had only the good of their subjects at heart and were entirely free from military ambition is not, in the light of recorded history, entirely convincing. Further, the inspiring list of popular forms of embezzlement (pp. 208, 209) taken from Kauṭalya, throws an interesting light on the work of the public services in the much vaunted early Hindu administration. These forty entries appear to embody the results of much painful experience. The sphere of the *Purohita* comes in for much favourable notice. As the *Mahābhārata* puts it : a king without *purohita* is like an elephant without a *mahāvat*. Here we are clearly dealing with a point of view that draws much emphasis from the fact that it emanates from a Brāhman. A comparison of the position of the *purohita* among the ministers to the Archbishop of Canterbury does not strike us as particularly apt ; but it is no doubt true that a Kshattriya monarch gained much from the intelligent direction of his priestly adviser.

On p. 244 the writer refers to a controversy with the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes regarding the methods of dealing with evil-doers in Mughal and Hindu times, and the use of torture in the discovery of crime. Here again Mr. Dikshitar's standard for Mauryan administration is the written record of principles. There is little doubt that Mr. Edwardes' scepticism, which is shared by others, has more foundation than Mr. Dikshitar's somewhat facile deductions from the code of Kauṭalya. Here we must bring this brief notice to an end. It must not be assumed, from the criticisms above, that this

work is not worthy of very careful study. Where the writer adheres to his text he is deserving of close consideration. When he gives us such striking information as (p. 373) in England until recently horses were used in the driving of ploughs, or augurs well for the future of Indian politics from the assumed happiness of the country in the days of the Mauryan emperors, we must needs handle his pages with some caution.

R. E. E.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, vol. I. Pre-historic India, by V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ ; pp. vii + 247. Madras, 1929.

The author has set himself the big and somewhat ambitious task of compiling a history of India from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest, to be completed in 9 volumes, which will deal with the following periods : (1) Pre-historic India ; (2) Vedic India ; (3) India from 650 B.C. to 320 B.C. ; (4) the Mauryan Empire ; (5) India from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas ; (6) the Gupta Empire ; (7) North India from 600 to 1200 A.D. ; (8) Dakkan from 600 to 1310 A.D. ; and (9) the Tamil States from 600 to 1310 A.D. The volume before us treats of prehistoric India, carrying us down only to the so-called "Vedic period." Chapter I deals chiefly with the geological evolution of the continent. The next four chapters, which are devoted to Early Man and the Eolithic Age, the Palaeolithic Age and the transition from this to the Neolithic Age, contain much that from the nature of things must be speculative. When we reach the Neolithic Age (Ch. VI) we stand upon somewhat firmer ground, as, thanks to the lifelong labour of Bruce Foote and the more recent work in the same field, we have now a mass of material, found over a wide area (chiefly to the south of the Vindhyas and Aravallis) more or less definitely assignable to this period. Mr. Rangacharya collates the evidence available from neolithic sites and offer his suggestions as to the life and culture of the people of that age, their habitations, occupations, arts, dress, food, religion, etc. He emphasizes the reason which apparently led to the selection of sites for settlement by the neolithic folk, viz., the presence of supplies of trap rock, the material chiefly used by them in fashioning their implements, just as the palaeolithic men seem to have been guided by the occurrence of light-coloured quartzite.

Though not prepared to accept Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's views as to the five geographical divisions of the people into 'coastal', 'agricultural', 'pastoral', 'hilly' and 'desert' being formed in the neolithic period, or as to the Vedic term *pañcajana* referring to these five types, he is inclined to think that the tendency for the neolithic people to become specialized in distinct areas was "instrumental in inspiring and fostering" the system of caste. All that we shall say here is, that there seem cogent reasons for seeking an indigenous origin for this

system, rather than for regarding it as introduced by the "Aryan invaders." Again, Mr. Rangacharya declines to endorse the suggestion of Mr. P. T. S. Aiyangar and others that the Aryans were mere descendants of the Dravidians and became estranged from the latter only by the adoption of the fire cult and the priestly language of Sanskrit. He thinks the fact is that the Aryans and the Dravidians originally belonged to the same race (the Mediterranean), but to different stages of culture, becoming further differentiated by the mixture of Dravidians with pre-Dravidians and by diversity of climatic environment.

In Chapter VII (the Advent of Metals) he puts forward arguments for regarding gold as an Indian discovery, and suggests that the art of smelting copper may also prove to have originated in India. Chapter VIII is devoted to the Indus Valley Civilization, and the question whether it was prior to or later than the Sumerian culture is discussed ; but here the author, like all other scholars interested in this subject, is handicapped by the want of full reports of what has actually been found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Until such details are available it is somewhat premature to discuss the conclusions suggested. As regards the vexed question of the original home of the Aryans, he writes (Ch. IX) : "The probability of the Kashmir-Bactrian [sic]-Panjab hypothesis is, in my opinion, not less strong than that of the European. .... We may thus conclude that about 3000 B.C. a section of the Mediterranean dolicocephals who occupied the region of Bactria-Kashmir-Himalayan uplands, the lands of the archaic Vedic and Paisachi dialects, developed a sacrificial cult and during the next millennium gradually spread themselves across the Western Asiatic plateau, influenced the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations and penetrating the European plain through the Caspian, Black Sea and Balkan regions, laid the foundations of Aryan Europe." We fear this view cannot help materially to solve the difficulties of this problem. As to the date of the Vedic civilization he seems disposed to agree generally with Dr. Winternitz and M.M. H. P. Sastri, and he considers that their views receive corroboration from the discoveries since made at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

The author has presented the material culled from many sources in a very readable form, interwoven largely with original observations often meriting consideration. The typographical blemishes are rather numerous, due it seems to the hurry with which, we are told, the volume was printed ; but we do not understand why the strange forms "Palae-Ozoic," "Mes-Ozoic," etc., have been allowed to stand. Such defects should be avoided in the ensuing volumes. We should like to add a tribute to the fair-minded spirit in which Mr. Rangacharya states the theories and opinions of others and the impartiality with which he treats them.

C. E. A. W. O.

[5 (c). SALE OF THE CARGO OF THE *London*—continued.]Account Goods Sold to the Agent belonging to Mr. William Lee &c. [1707] *vizt.*

Sannoos Ballasore	983½ at 57½	..	..	..	56541.	6.
Chucklaes	420½ at 49	..	..	..	20612.	6.
Do.	118 at 70	..	..	..	8260.	—
					28872.	6.
Shaulbafts	12 at 70	..	..	..	840.	—
Tepoies	146½ at 38	..	..	..	5573.	3.
Elatchees Maulda	1125 at 18½	..	..	..	20812.	5.
	Cost 36					
Tanjebs	72 at 48	..	..	..	3504.	—
Gouldar	158 at 17	..	..	..	2686.	—
	Cost 2					
Corrodaries	866 at 25	..	..	..	21650.	—
Omerties	250 at 31	..	..	..	7750.	—
Mull : Bahr, 289 ps. <i>vizt.</i>						
	208 at 31	..	..	..	6448.	—
	81 at 28	..	..	..	2268.	—
					8716.	—
Cossos Maulda	717 ps. at 49	..	..	..	35133.	—
Do. Cogmarie	159 ps. at 62	..	..	..	9858.	—
Soosies	100 at 50	..	..	..	5000.	—
	355 at 70	..	..	..	24850.	—
					29850.	—
Conconeess	16 guz. 2550 at 18	..	..	..	45900.	—
Tupes	246 at 30	..	..	..	7380.	—
Do.	275 at 38	..	..	..	10450.	—
					17830.	—
Chela	1023 at 15½	..	..	..	15856.	5.
Laycowries	1893 at 21	..	..	..	39753.	—
	250 at 18	..	..	..	4500.	—
					44253.	—
Cossos Gosporee	347 at 18..	..	..	..	6246.	—
Sannoos Mahoopr.	146 at 37.5	..	..	..	5475.	—
Do. Borroon	417 at 24 ..	..	..	..	10008.	—
Cosses Burroon	300 at 44	..	..	..	377355.	5.
					13200.	—
To Comp. Consolage &c. at 5½ pr cent	..	..	..	..	21480.	5.
To vardr. 6 mo : on shas. 336025 at 6 pr cent	..	..	..	..	20161.	5.
					41642.	—
					348913.	5.

[5 (d). ACCOUNT OF GOODS SENT TO MADRASS (IN THE *London*).]*Expences, &c. at Bunder on my [J.S.] own Account.*

					Shas.	
To a chest of Rosewater and matting	..	..	..	..	122.	5.
To a chest of Fruit of sundry sorts and charges	..	..	..	..	213.	6.
To 3 Chests of Hachee at 140 shas. pr chest and mat	..	..	..	..	426.	—
To 6 Do. Shiross at 120 Shas. pr chest and mat	..	..	..	..	740.	—
					1502.	1.

To Mr. Upton for sundry goods bought as pr his Account	..	19501.	—.
To Chitterah for cash borrowed of him	..	21003.	1.
To freight of 4 chests Wine and 1 chest fruit	..	600.	—.
To China cups &c.	..	540.	—.
To a Gold head cane	..	12.	—.
To Deal boards bought of Mr. Beavis for chests for goods	..	180.	—.
To half a horse gave Sir George [Matthews]	..	452.	—.
		1080.	—.

## [NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 5.]

(a)

Elizabeth Sheldon. She was the wife of Ralph Sheldon, then chairman of the United Trade Council at Calcutta. He died in April 1709 and in April 1711 his widow married Josiah Chitty, 5th of Council and Export Warehousekeeper at Calcutta. (C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, Vols. I and II, Pt. 1.)

Mulmulls Santepore. *Malma* from Sântipur, See p. 54.

Caroy. See piscaroy (p. 55).

Hamallage. Porterage. See p. 36.

Vardar. This word is a puzzle. It apparently means discount, or charges.

(b)

Chucklaes. See p. 35.

Brown Gurrahs. Here there is the same redundancy as on p. 57, showing that Europeans failed to catch the significance of the term *gârhâ*.

(c)

Most of these goods have already been noted. Those mentioned for the first time are :—

Tanjebs. *Tanzîb*, fine muslin.

Gouldar. *Gul-dâr*, flowered cloth.

Omerties. The "amberty calicoes" of Messrs. Hughes and Parker (*English Factories*, 1618-1621, p. 213). See also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, s.v. *Ambati* in Index.

Mull : Bahr. *Malma* from Bihâr (?)

Tupes. *Tâpi*. See p. 54.

Cossos Gosporee. *Khâssa* (see p. 53) from Ghauspur (?)

(d)

Hachee. Hashish, Ar. *hashîsh*, dried and powdered hemp leaves for smoking.

Shiross. Shirâz wine. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 141, says that there were two sorts, white and red, the white being "most esteemed."

Mr. Upton. Four individuals of this name are mentioned in the *Scattergood Papers*—Captain Upton. Ar. (?) Alexander) Upton, Richard Upton and William Upton. It is probably the last named who is mentioned here.

Chitterah. Possibly Khatri (a man of the mercantile caste so called) : but the word is doubtful.

Mr. Beavis. See p. 50.

Half a horse. Scattergood apparently means that he paid half the cost of a horse presented to Sir George Matthews.

## [ADDITIONAL NOTE ON DOCUMENT No. 1 (see p. 33).]

Entry 1 August 1698. The "Mrs. Mounk" to whom Scattergood sent arrack was Frances Monk who had farmed the wine license at Fort St. George, Madras, with Simon Kilpatrick for 200 pagodas in 1698. In 1699 it was let to William Proby for three years at

250 pagodas yearly (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 10), and Mrs. Monk was evidently about to return to England when Scattergood left Madras for Bengal.

The *London*, under Sir George Matthews, with Scattergood on board, arrived at Madras from Persia on 15 June 1708 (*Fort St. George Diary*) and almost immediately Scattergood found himself involved in a dispute with the Council. The Company's ship *Kent* had come from China to Madras in March 1708, and as she was in danger of losing her passage round the Cape, if despatched to England as late as April or May, it was decided to let her out to private freighters for a voyage back to China, in the expectation that she would return in time to sail for Europe in February of 1709. The ship was accordingly hired to Edward Fleetwood and Gulston Addison on the understanding that she should leave China not later than 20 December 1708. With Addison and Fleetwood were associated four others sharing in the investment, and among them John Scattergood's name appears. The arrangement on his behalf was probably made by his friends and co-freighters, the Rev. George Lewis and William Warre, merchant.

There was some delay in concluding the terms for hire and it was not till 21 May that the *Kent* under Captain Edward Harrison sailed for China with Edward Fleetwood as chief supercargo. She was absent for nearly a year, not reaching Madras until 15 May 1709, when she had again lost her passage to England. On 4 July the Council "demanded a double freight for her, by reason they did not return in season so as to be dispatched for England," and on 14 July the freighters "put in their answere," to which Scattergood was a signatory (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations* 1708, 1709), and a compromise was effected between the two parties.

For three years (1708-1711) Scattergood appears to have remained at Madras trading as a merchant and improving his position socially and financially. In June 1710, on a "general summons to all the inhabitants" for the raising of "trained bands," he attended and was "nominated Ensign" (*Consultation* 15 June 1710), his commission being drawn out on the following day.

The importance of Scattergood's position as a merchant at this period can be gauged from the following entry in a *Consultation* at Fort St. George of 17 January 1711:—"Mr. Scattergood this day appeared before us and offered to take up the *Susanna* for China and likewise offers 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  for all the Company's Silver as may suit with our conveniency to spare, which is deferr'd to further consideration."

The *Susannah*, a Company's ship, had arrived at Madras from England in July 1710. Scattergood's offer to take her on freight to China does not seem to have been entertained, but his proposal regarding the Company's silver was debated and on 19 February the *Consultation* records:—

"We being low in Cash and being under a necessity of paying our Fort St. David merchants what due to them on their last contract of 50000 Pagodas . . . and we having kept the Companys silver being 32 chests till now . . . and it seeming probable that silver may become rather cheaper than dearer . . . and Mr. Scattergood now appearing before us for our answer to what he proposed last Consultation day relating to the Company's silver, in which intervall of time wee could not gett more than what he offered, it is therefore unanimously agreed that we sell Mr. Scattergood the said 32 chests of silver at the rate of 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  per 10 Pagodas, he paying ready mony for the same." (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations*, 1711).

Among the *Scattergood Papers* we find a receipt signed by William Martin, Warehouse-keeper dated 26 March 1711, for 5000 pagodas paid by Scattergood on "account the Right Honble. United Company['s] silver sold him."

Trade with Persia was still going on, for a receipt is also preserved, dated 5 February 1711, for 119 pagodas 29 fanams paid to Captain Thomas Saunders, Commander of the *Sylva* which sailed to Gombroon and returned in July 1711.

Scattergood was now a man of substance and was conducting mercantile transactions on a large scale. In 1711 he became associated with Edward Jones as supercargo of the *Bussorah Merchant* in a voyage to China, and it was doubtless in connection with this venture that he collected the list of goods and prices which follows:—

[6. PRICES CURRENT IN SURAT MARCH 1711.]

							Sear	R	Rups.
Quicksilver per maund of		..	..	..	..	..	40	—	60 to 70
Vermilion	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	52 to 60
Copper Japan	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	15 @ 16
Copper China	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	14 @ 15
Tutaneg	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	10 @ 12
Allom China	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	2 @ 2½
Ditto Mallacca	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	—
China camphire	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	22 @ 26
Annis seeds China	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	[6½ @ 7½]
China cash	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	[13] —
Ditto sugar	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	—	3½ @ 4½
Ditto sugar candy	..	..	..	..	..	..	43½	—	5 @ 6
China root	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	5 @ 10
Java sugar	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	—	3 @ 4
Ditto sugar candy	..	..	..	..	..	..	43½	—	5 @ 6
Gambodia	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	7 @ 8
Hartall	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	10 @ 15
Tortoise shell black and thick	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	according to goodness.
									[80 @ 100]
Peppar Sumatra	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	7 @ 8
Green tea	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	20 @ 25
Bohee tea	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	[20 @ 45]
Tin	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	10 @ 12
120 to 150 cloves new	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	125 @ 135
80 to 120 nutmegs..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	85 @ 95
Mace	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	200 @ 210
50 to 70 Cinamon Zeilon [Ceylon]	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	—	80 @ 90
Lead English	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	4 @ 5½
									pucca mds.
Ditto white	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	8 @ 10
Ditto red	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	4 @ 5
Tinkull	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	7 @ 14
Elephants teeth 16 to the cwt.	..	..	..	..	..	..	70	—	65 @ 75
St. lack Pegu	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	4 @ 5
Seed lack in lumps	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	—	5 @ 7
Sandal Mallabar	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	—	5 @ 7

			Sear	R.	Rups.
Rattans					[1 : 5 @ 1 : 8]
Shark finns	[added in pencil]				[12 @ 17]
Cow beazor					[10 @ 8]
Wax—the maund			42	— 10	to 12
Rhubarb			44	— [35	good].
Cardamons Mallabar good			42	— 40	@ 55
Ditto Pegu			42	— [25]	
Dammar : Acheen			44	— 1½	@ 1½
Bengall iron			40	— 2½	@ 3½
English ditto			40	— 4	@ 5
Almonds			42	— 3	@ 4
Rosewater 21 flasks				— 20	@ 30
Cochineal, sear pucka of near 30 ounces				25	@ 35
Sapan wood the maund of 42 sear				1	@ 1½
Betle nutt white			40	— 2½	@ 3½
					new.
Ditto red.					
Betle Old			40	—	—
Copra new			40	— 2½	@ 4
Ditto old			40	—	—
Gallingal china			44	— 2	@ 3
Round peppar Mallabar			41½	— 6½	@ 7½
Long peppar Bengall			44	— 6½	@ 10
Sapan wood Mallabar			42	— 2	@ 3
Gallingal Mallabar			44	— 4	@ 7
					but it must be red.
Peppar roott			44	—	—
Ginger new Mallabar			42	— 3	@ 4
Turmerick			42½	— 2	@ 3
Opium			42	— 90	@ 100
Silk Bengall, 5 sort 4 to 6 Rups per sear pucka :					
Raw silk China white, the sear pucka 6 rupees.					
Putchock the maund			44	— 8	@ 10
Mirh fine			44	— 10	@ 12 or
					14
Ditto Coarse			44	— 5	@ 6
Aloes Zocotra [Socotra]			44	— 7	@ 8
					as in the bales.
Olibanum not clean			44	— 3	@ 4
Coffee			42½	— 12	@ 16
Indigo Agra			41	— 45	@ 60
					and upwards.
Ditto Suratt			41	— 10	@ 16
Ruinas 3 ma. 37½ sears gross per bundle—75 Rups.					
Ditto false				25	@ 30
Ditto mixt				50	—
Midjeat					16½ sears Surat 110 Rups.

								R. Rups.
Cotton broack, 21 maund to the candy..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	55 @ 65
Rhubarb ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— — —
Cubebs ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4½ and upwards.
Redwood	}	[added in pencil]						[2½ @ 3]
Rosumalloes								

[Endorsed] Price Current Suratt

March 31st 1711.

[Note.—The figures within square brackets are added in pencil in the margin.]

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 6.]

The greater number of the articles named in this list were imports from China.

Maund of 40 seer. The modern Indian standard maund (*man*) is of the same content, 40 seer (*ser*) of 80 *tola* of 180 grains. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Maund : Seer : Tola.

Tutaneg. Port. *tutena*, spelter.

China Cash, 40 Seer, 13 R. There is something wrong here. Scattergood probably intended to give the correct rate of exchange for cash in Surat, the usual nominal value of which was 1000 to the dollar. See Vols. XXVI and XXVII, *Currency and Coinage among the Burmese*.

China Root. *Smilax pseudo-China*. See *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, III. 212.

Gambodia. Gamboge from Cambodia and China.

Hartall. *Hartál*, arsenic.

Bohee Tea. Black tea. The term Bohei is derived from the Wu-i hills in the Fuhkien province of China. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II. 521, s.v. Black Teas, remarks :—“ Bohea or Voo-ye, the name of the country, is in the province of Fokien, and is very hilly, not only the hills are planted with tea trees, but the vallies also : the former are reckoned to grow the best tea.”

Tinkull. *Tinkál*, borax.

St. Lack Pegu : Seed Lack. Pegu stick-lac, i.e., the wax of the *Tachardia lacca*, formed on trees, in its natural state. Seed-lac is the term applied to the substance when separated from the twigs and broken into small pieces. See Milburn, *op. cit.*, II. 216.

Sandal Mallabar. Sandal wood from the Malabar Coast.

Cow beazor. For bezoar, a medicinal stone found in the bodies of certain animals, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bezoar, and for “ Gowloochon ” (*gau-lochan*) or cow-bezoar, see *John Marshall in India*, p. 344.

Dammar : Acheen. *Damar*, resin used for pitch, from Achin, Sumatra.

Cochineal, seer pucka of near 30 ounces. Cochineal weighed by the *pakka ser*, the larger of the two kinds in use at Surat.

Sapan wood the maund of 42 seer. Sappan-wood, also called Redwood and Brazil-wood, the wood of the *Cæsalpinia Sappan*. Here the content of the *man* varies from that given for quicksilver.

Betle nut. *Betel*, the name given to the fruit of the *Areca Catechu*, which is chewed with the leaf of the *Piper Betle*.

Copra. *Khoprâ*, dried coco-nut.

Gallingal China. Galangal, *Alpinia Galanga*, the aromatic root of which was formerly used in medicine.

Long pepper, Bengall. The fruit spike of the *Piper longum*, indigenous in E. Bengal.  
Putchock. *Pachak*, *Costus* root, used for medicine and incense.

Olibanum not clean. A gummy resin from certain species of trees of the genus *Boswellia* growing in Persia and Arabia, generally known as frankincense. By "not clean" Scattergood means mixed with earth and twigs.

Indigo. See Mundy's account of "the best and richer sort" of indigo, "commonly called by the name of Agra Indico" (*Travels*, ed. Temple, II. 221-3).

Ruinas false. Pers. *ronás*, madder. By "ruinas false" Scattergood probably means the chay-root of Coromandel, the root bark of *Oldenlandia umbellata*, a plant of the same family as madder.

Midjeat. *Munjeet*, *manjīt* (*Rubia cordifolia*), a species of madder-root from Bengal.

Cotton broack. ? Cotton Broach, i.e., cotton from Broach which was noted for its excellent quality.

Cubeps. Cubeb pepper, *kabâbchînî*, Chinese pepper.

Redwood. Sappan-wood. See above.

Rosumalloes. Rose malloes, Malay *rasamala*, Java storax, a fragrant resin.

[7. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE *Bussorah Merchant*.]

Articles of Agreement between Messrs. Thomas Frederick and Charles Boone in behalf of the Freighters of Ship *Bussera Merchant* for Canton in China on the One part and John Cockcroft Philip Gamon and James Penning in behalf of themselves and Owners of the said Ship of the other part.

*Imprimis* .. Tis mutually agreed between both partys that Messrs. John Scattergood and Edward Jones doe embark with their Stock as Supra Cargoes and Mr. Guyn Purser by the 20th inst. with their Servants Necessarys &c. satisfying the Commander for their provisions but that hee shall bee obliged to allow them a Lodging in the Great Cabin.

*2dly* .. That for the Stock which shall bee laden by Messrs. Thomas Frederick Charles Boone &c. Freighters the said Supra Cargoes shall pay on the produce of their Silver in China four Pr cent.

*3dly* .. That all Port charges Anchorage Pilotage and all other charges whatsoever in China or elsewhere bee on Account of said Ship *Bossoera Merchant* excepting house Expences which the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones shall bear their part of.

*4thly* .. That in case any Accident should prevent the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones investing their Stock before the Departure of said Ship then they shall pay no more then half freight for the Amount they shall leave behind.

*5thly* .. The said John Cockcroft &c. doe oblige themselves to assist the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones with their Boat and People to run their Silver and Gold but that all their risques goeing and comeing be on the Account of the said Thomas Frederick Charles Boone &c. freighters.

*6thly* .. It is agreed that the said John Cockcroft &c. doe keep Ship *Bussora Merchant* in Canton till the 15th November 1711 unless the Supra Cargoes John Scattergood and Edward Jones shall have finished their Business before that time.

*7thly* .. That the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones and John Cockcroft doe appear in China as Supra Cargoes of the whole concerne as well to the Merchants as to the Government.

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